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Cinderella and the Jesuits

An *Otogizōshi* Cycle as Christian Literature

by Chieko Irie Mulhern

Tales concerning stepdaughters constitute a prominent category in the Japanese literary genre known as *otogizōshi* or, broadly termed, Muromachi-period short stories.[1] Among them is a group that can be identified as the Cinderella cycle because of its suspected folklore origin and abundant fairy-tale motifs. This cycle in the *otogizōshi* format (that is, literary works rather than transcribed folk tales) consists of three short stories: *Hanayo no Hime* ('Princess Blossom'), *Hachikazuki* ('The Bowl Bearer'), and *Ubakawa* ('The Bark Gown'). Pseudo-aristocratic titles and names of the characters notwithstanding, these three tales are distinguished by their provincial setting and folklore motifs from other stepchildren stories that fall into the purely literary tradition of the courtly Heian novel. For the sake of clarity, technical details of these three works are set out in a table overleaf.

In addition to the three variants of *Hachikazuki* listed in the table, there also exists a fourth and best-known version, titled *Hachikazuki*, which is included in *Otogibunko*, a collection of 23 *otogizōshi* tales published by Shibukawa Seiemon in the 1660s.[2] The following discussion will refer primarily to this *Otogibunko* version (the text of which is virtually identical with that of *Hachikazuki no Sōshi*, #64), not only because it is generally accepted as the original of the Japanese Cinderella group, but more cogently because it forms a crucial link in the cycle. Synopses of the three tales are given below.

The Author is Assistant Professor of Japanese Literature and Language at the University of Illinois, Urbana. She is most grateful to Professor Donald Keene, who originally suggested *Hanayo no Hime* as the subject of her Master's thesis, and Professor Marleigh Ryan, who guided her through to its completion. She would also like to thank Mr Yamamoto Yuzo 山本祐三 of the National Diet Library, Tokyo, for his invaluable assistance in locating rare source materials.

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[1] Chieko Mulhern, '*Otogizōshi*: Short Stories of the Muromachi Period', in *MN* xxix (1974), pp. 181–98.

[2] See Barbara Ruch, 'Origins of *The Companion Library*: An Anthology of Medieval Japanese Stories', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, xxx (1971), pp. 593–610.

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Hanayo no Hime

HANAYO is a Kannon's gift child born to Bungo-no-kami Moritaka of the Wada clan in Suruga. At the age of eight, she loses her mother. Five years later she is abducted through her stepmother's machinations, but spared death by the appointed assassin and abandoned in the wild mountains. Guided by distant firelight, she stumbles into a cave near Mt Fuji, delouses an old woman, and is rewarded by her castoff robe, sacred rice, and a pouch. Following the crone's instructions, she reaches a town in her old-woman disguise and becomes a fire-tender at the mansion of Chūnagon (Middle Councillor). His youngest son Saishō (Imperial Advisor) discovers her and pledges his love. While she is preparing for an imposed bridal contest, the small pouch yields treasures and fine clothing. Her beauty and rare gifts impress her parents-in-law, and she is reunited with her languishing father. Saishō inherits her father's estate and is later known as Tango-no-kami Moriie. The stepmother becomes an outcast.

Hachikazuki[3]

AT the age of twelve Hachikazuki has a large bowl placed over her head by her dying mother, supposedly in accordance with a vow made to Kannon. After a stepsister is born, her father, Bitchū-no-kami Sanetaka, is deceived by his second wife's slander and banishes the heroine as a monstrosity with the bowl adhering to her head. Leaving the Katano area of Kawachi, she throws herself into a river, but the bowl supports her head above water. Fished out of the river, she is brought to the mansion of the local governor, Chūjō (second in command of the Imperial Guards) of the Third Rank, to work as bath attendant. The fourth son, Saishō, falls in love with her. Before the imposed bridal contest, the bowl crashes to the ground and reveals treasures. Now a repentant monk, her father is reinstated after a surprise meeting at Hase Kannon temple, while the abandoned stepmother and stepsister live in poverty and loneliness. The emperor grants Kawachi, Yamato, and Iga to Saishō, who entrusts Kawachi to a son and the heroine's father, and builds a palace in Iga for himself and his family.

Ubakawa

THE eleven-year-old heroine, an unnamed daughter of Naruse no Saemon Kiyomune, leaves her home in Iwakura village in Owari during her father's absence, because her stepmother is practically starving her. The girl finds refuge under the Kannon altar at Jimokuji, where Kannon gives her a gown made of tree bark and tells her to seek out Sasaki no Minbu Takakiyo in Ōmi. Eventually Sasaki's young

[3] For a complete translation, see Chigusa Stevens, '*Hachikazuki*: A Muromachi Short Story', in *MN* XXXII (1977), pp. 315–21. However, the present discussion will refer to the original Japanese text, in *Otogizōshi-shū* 御伽草子集 (*Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū* 36), Shōgakukan, 1974, pp. 58–85.

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son, Jūrō Takayoshi, employs her as fire-tender, catches her out of the old-woman disguise, and marries her. The emperor appoints him Uhyōe-no-kami (Commander of the Right Palace Guards) and bestows on him Echizen in addition to Ōmi, which he inherits from his father.

Title	No.*	Printed pages*	Origin
Hanayo no Hime	62	41	Woodblock-print booklet; late 1650s? 26 illustrations.
Ubakawa	63	6.5	*Nara-ehon* (richly decorated & illustrated storybook); 6 illustrations.
Hachikazuki no Sōshi	64	18	Printed booklet; dated 1659; 8 illustrations.
Hachikazuki (also known as Mikanagi-*bon*)	65	15	*Nara-ehon*; all 16 illustrations cut out.
Hachikazuki	66	10	*Nara-ehon*; 11 illustrations.

*The numbers assigned to the tales and the numbers of printed pages refer to Yokoyama Shigeru 横山重 & Matsumoto Takanobu 松本隆信, ed., *Muromachi Jidai Monogatari-shū* 室町時代物語集, III, Kadokawa Shoten, 1962.

IN THE definitive collection of Japanese folk tales, *Nihon Mukashibanashi Shūsei*, the *otogizōshi* Cinderella cycle is classified as the *ubakawa* type on account of its old-woman motif and heroine disguise. The editor, Seki Keigo, cites the three stories as literary precedents and points out that the *ubakawa* type seldom occurs as an independent tale in folk variants.[4] An examination of the forty-odd variants distributed throughout Japan from Aomori to Kagoshima reveals that the *ubakawa* motif appears singly in three tales, only two of which concern stepdaughters. In all the others, this motif is combined with the grateful-frog type, in which a frog (or crab) repays the kindness of a girl (usually not a stepdaughter) or her father by rescuing the girl from a forced marriage to an animal groom (serpent, wolf). The origins of the *ubakawa* type itself, however, have eluded the efforts of scholars for a long time, and after prolonged research into the archetype of Hachikazuki tales, Tomohisa Takebumi confesses that he is still unenlightened as regards the source of the *ubakawa* lore and the religious tradition behind it.[5]

Hachikazuki is the only one of the three tales that has an attribution, albeit somewhat doubtful, to a local legend. *Shiojiri*, a collection of essays by Amano Nobukage, a samurai of the Nagoya clan, mentions in Volume 39 that Hachikazuki was the daughter of a wealthy man of Neya village in Kawachi. But not only does Amano fail to substantiate this statement, but the hundred-volume

[4] Seki Keigo 関敬吾, *Nihon Mukashibanashi Shūsei* 日本昔話集成, Kadokawa Shoten, 1974, III, p. 910.

[5] Tomohisa Takebumi 友久武文, '*Hachikazuki no Genwa*' 「鉢かづき」の原話, in *Chūsei Bungei* 中世文芸, #9, 1956, p. 34.

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Shiojiri, compiled by his disciples from manuscripts written during the last forty years of his life, was published in 1782, almost fifty years after his death and nearly 180 years after the presumed first publication of *Hachikazuki*. Seki found only four folk variants of the bowl-bearing girl: Hachikatsugi (not a stepdaughter) in Saitama, Hachitsuki in Hyōgo, Hachikaburi in Tokushima, and Sarakaburi (with a dish; a persecuted bride rather than stepdaughter) in Kumamoto. Commenting that the close resemblance in plot and the bowl motif suggest a strong influence of the *otogizōshi* tale on these folk variants rather than vice versa, Okada Keisuke deplores the lack of research into the exact folklore sources and the process of their assimilation into the *otogizōshi* tales.[6]

To date, all conceivable Japanese folk sources and early literature seem to have been searched and ruled out by scholars. A frustrating impasse has been reached in the academic endeavors along these lines, but possible relations between the Japanese Cinderella and its Western counterpart have been left totally unexplored.

Christian Converts as Models

THE readers of *otogizōshi* stories are believed to have included cultured women and children of the provincial gentry and upper classes. Living in the tumultuous late-Muromachi times when provinces were won and lost by warring daimyo with bewildering frequency, the readers of *otogizōshi* could not help but be affected directly or otherwise by abrupt shifts of power and transfer of ruling lords. In the case of the three Cinderella stories, whose heroines are of social status and circumstances apparently quite close to those of *otogizōshi* readers, or which at least reflect the aspirations of such readers, the titles and estates bestowed on the characters may perhaps not be so arbitrary and naively anachronistic as has been generally assumed by some modern scholars, and even a cursory check on the three tales yields some startling discoveries.

Hanayo no Hime

THE young Saishō who marries Hanayo becomes Tango-no-kami and inherits the estate of his father-in-law, Bungo-no-kami. Now in the late Muromachi period, or, for that matter, throughout Japanese history, there was only one man who owned fiefs in Tango and Bungo simultaneously—Hosokawa Tadaoki. Rather than inheriting his own father's estate as expected of an eldest son, Tadaoki earned 110,000 *koku* in Tango in his own right from Oda Nobunaga in 1580, and an additional 60,000 *koku* in Bungo from Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1600 before being transferred to Buzen with an impressive 395,000 *koku* later in the same year. He was appointed *Jijū* (Imperial Attendant) of the Fourth Rank in 1585, supernumerary *Shōshō* (third in command of the Imperial Guards) three years later, and finally in 1596 *Sangi* (or *Saishō*).

[6] Okada Keisuke 岡田啓助, '*Hachikazuki no Seiritsu ni tsuite no Ichikōsatsu*' 鉢かづきの成立についての一考察, in *Wayō Kokubun Kenkyū* 和洋国文研究, #2, 1964, pp. 26 & 31.

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In *Hanayo no Hime*, Saishō's father is Chūnagon (of Junior Third Rank), a nobleman who left court circles owing to certain personal circumstances to settle in the province where he had some connections. Tadaoki's father, Hosokawa Yūsai Fujitaka, was the fourth son of Ashikaga Yoshiharu and was born soon after his pregnant mother was married off to Mifuchi Harukazu. Eventually adopted by the Hosokawa family, Yūsai attained in 1582 Junior Second Rank with the privilege of direct access to the emperor. His noble lineage and exalted rank more than match those of the fictional heroine's father-in-law, even aside from his rather unusual personal background.

If Saishō is modeled on Hosokawa Tadaoki, then his wife Hanayo no Hime has to be none other than the celebrated Christian lady, Hosokawa Gracia Tama. Suruga as the heroine's home may be inevitable in view of the crucial role played by Mt Fuji in the story, but her father-in-law's mansion is vaguely designated as south of her grandmother's house, which itself is west of the heroine's home. To the southwest of Suruga lies Tōtōmi, and both provinces belonged to Tokugawa Ieyasu in the late sixteenth century. This geographical association might have been sufficient for their contemporaries to recall that both Hosokawa Yūsai and Tadaoki were away in Ieyasu's command when Gracia died a spectacular death to safeguard her husband's samurai honor and his allegiance to Ieyasu.

The heroine's father in *Hanayo no Hime*, however, seems to be a composite rather than Gracia's real father, Akechi Mitsuhide. Bungo-no-kami had been a virtually hereditary title of the Ōtomo family since the Kamakura period. The best-known Ōtomo is Sōrin Yoshishige, who extended his powerful patronage to the Portuguese traders and Jesuits from 1543, when he managed to dissuade his father from killing the first Western visitors to Beppu Bay. Baptized Francisco in 1578, Sōrin built a college, a seminary, and a novitiate for the Jesuits in his domain of Bungo. Hanayo's father is further specified as a kindred of the Wada family. A survey of late-Muromachi history turns up one prominent Wada who looms large in Jesuit affairs. Wada Koremasa was the first daimyo in the capital area to champion the Jesuit cause after Gaspar Vilela reached Kyoto in 1559. All but single-handedly, Wada managed to have Luis Frois received in audience by the shogun Yoshiaki (1565) and by Oda Nobunaga (1569), ushering in the heyday of Christian activity in the region. Wada was, moreover, a close friend of Hosokawa Yūsai. Thus the story's Bungo-no-kami appears a composite of Ōtomo Sōrin and Wada Koremasa.

If the apparent Christian context were applicable to *Hanayo no Hime* alone, this line of argument might be less than convincing. But similar, or even more explicit, affinities to historical figures in the other two tales render it impossible to dismiss the correlation as accidental.

Hachikazuki

IN this story, the husband Saishō receives Kawachi, Yamato, and Iga. First of all, the awarding of Yamato arouses curiosity because during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods no secular governor had ever been appointed to this province,

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which was entrusted to the control of Kōfukuji. From the chaotic power struggle of the late-Muromachi period emerged an eventual victor, Tsutsui Junkei, the head of the monk soldiers and warrior parishioners of Kōfukuji. He was granted Yamato by Nobunaga in 1580 and 20,000 *koku* in neighboring Kawachi by Hideyoshi in 1582, all of which soon passed into the hands of his nephew and heir, Tsutsui Sadatsugu.

Another curious feature in *Hachikazuki* is that Saishō gives Kawachi to his father-in-law and a young son. No mention is made of the disposal of Yamato, but Saishō builds a palace and moves his family into Iga, the smallest and least lucrative of the three provinces granted to him. It is hardly coincidental that Tsutsui Sadatsugu was known as Shirō (fourth son, like Saishō); transferred from Yamato to Iga in 1585 and built Ueno Castle there; was appointed *Jijū* (often concurrently held with *Saishō*) of the Junior Fourth Rank in the same year. He was baptized Christian in 1592, and banished from Iga in 1608 for refusing to renounce the faith.

Until Nobunaga's conquest in 1581, Iga had had nominal governors, and actual power over the province rested with a coalition of local leaders. Sadatsugu was the first ruling overlord since the Kamakura period, and after he was removed, Iga was annexed to neighboring Ise. Yamato and Kawachi had been divided into small fiefs long before that jurisdictional change. In addition, Sadatsugu's wife is believed to have been Hosokawa Gracia's sister, who had been adopted by Nobunaga. Sadatsugu's uncle, Junkei, was originally from Kawachi, and could well have held court rank equivalent to the Chūjō's (Hachikazuki's father-in-law), for his wife was a Kujō, one of the five noble families entitled to occupy the supreme post of Regent. All of this helps to qualify Tsutsui Sadatsugu for the model of Hachikazuki's husband, Saishō.

The identity of the heroine's father, Bitchū-no-kami in Kawachi, on the other hand, is more difficult to pinpoint, and there are a number of possible candidates, such as the Christian lord of Sanga, Shirai (or Sanga) Sancho Hōki-no-kami Yoriteru, whose castle and Madonna Hall stood on Sanga Island in the River Neya in Kita-Kawachi, the exact location associated with Hachikazuki by Amano's *Shiojiri*.

The most likely candidate, however, is Araki Murashige, Settsu-no-kami from 1573 but with ruling power over Kawachi as well, including the castle at Katano, where Hachikazuki's home is located. After an abortive rebellion against Nobunaga in 1578, he sought sanctuary with Mōri Terumoto, who controlled the western regions of Japan, including Bitchū. Araki was, moreover, a one-time father-in-law of a sister of Hosokawa Gracia. At the time of his rebellion, he sent the wife of his son Muratsugu back to her father, Akechi Mitsuhide. Thanks to his foresight, her life was spared when Araki himself fled from his castle and his entire family was brutually executed by Nobunaga. Additional similarities between Araki's life and the plot of *Hachikazuki*, to be discussed later, make him the most convincing model for the father.

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Ubakawa

THE shortest of the three tales, *Ubakawa*, poses no ambiguities as regards the identity of the characters. The story is set in the Ōei era, 1394–1428. The heroine's name is not mentioned, but her father-in-law in Ōmi has a full name—Sasaki no Minbu Takakiyo. In the Ōei era, there was a Kyōgoku Takamitsu who served as governor of Ōmi, 1401–03, and held the title of *Minbu Shōyū* (Second in Command of Civil Affairs). Kyōgoku was the main line of the powerful Sasaki clan of Ōmi. Throughout their history, the Kyōgoku men customarily had the character 'taka' in their names, usually as the first character. Kyōgoku is also a memorable name in the history of Christianity in Japan. Kyōgoku Takayoshi was baptized by Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo in 1581. His conversion was particularly welcomed by the Jesuits, for his wife, baptized Maria, was related to Nobunaga[7] (Nobunaga's sister, O-ichi, was married to Maria's brother, Asai Nagamasa), and their own daughter later became Hideyoshi's consort.[8]

Kyōgoku Takayoshi emerges more distinctly as a contemporary model for the father-in-law in *Ubakawa* when the life of his son is examined. The second son Takatomo was granted 5,000 *koku* in Ōmi in 1591, inherited the 60,000-*koku* Shinano estate of his father-in-law in 1594, was appointed Junior Fourth-Rank *Jijū* in the same year, was baptized João in 1595, and transferred to the former Tango fief of Hosokawa Tadaoki in 1601.

As for the heroine's father, 'Saemon of Owari' points to a Shiba. This family virtually monopolized the high positions in the Palace Guards and was also known as Owari-*ke*, bearing the title Owari-no-kami from the fifteenth century. During the Ōei era, one of the most prominent Shiba men, Yoshishige, held governorships of Owari (1400–18), Tōtōmi (1405–07), and Echizen (1398–1418); the supreme shogunate administrative post of *kanrei* (1405–09); the titles Sahyōe-no-kami, Uhyōe-no-kami, and Saemon-no-suke. Even more decisive evidence to establish Shiba Yoshishige as the model for the *Ubakawa* father is the lineage of the wife of Kyōgoku Takatomo, the contemporary model for the husband. His father-in-law was Mōri Hideyori, son of Shiba Yoshizumi, descended from Ashikaga Takauji himself.

The names of father-in-law Sasaki Takakiyo and husband Takayoshi in *Ubakawa* are ingenious devices to signify that the heroine's husband is a composite of Kyōgoku Takayoshi, one of the few early daimyo converts in the capital region, and Kyōgoku Takatomo, one of the last daimyo to receive baptism (in 1595). At some time between 1486 and 1517, while their ancestor Kyōgoku Takakiyo was governor of the northern half of Ōmi, a vassal named Asai Sukemasa took advantage of internal turmoil in the clan and usurped Kyōgoku territory. Takakiyo's great-grandson Takayoshi was a resentful ex-master-turned-permanent-guest in the

[7] Diego Pacheco, 'The Europeans in Japan, 1543–1640', in Michael Cooper, ed., *The Southern Barbarians*, Kodansha International, Tokyo & Palo Alto, 1971, p. 53.

[8] Her tombstone in Kyoto marks her as 'Sasaki Kyōgoku'.

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Asai castle when he married Sukemasa's granddaughter. Takayoshi lived to see Nagamasa, Sukemasa's grandson, destroyed by Nobunaga, his own brother-in-law, in 1573 and to have part of Ōmi unexpectedly restored to the Kyōgoku as a result. According to rumor, the defenses of Asai's castle were undermined by secret collusion with the enemy originating within its own walls, namely, in the tower known as Kyōgoku-maru, which quartered the Kyōgoku contingent. Takayoshi's wife Maria, therefore, suffered a complex kind of anguish, enough to get herself cast in the role of a tormented Cinderella. At the same time, her family by marriage came into the unexpected possession of the Ōmi estate, although not without some right to it, just as the husband Sasaki Jurō in *Ubakawa* did.

The village of Iwakura as the heroine's home serves to link the setting in the past and in the age of the contemporary models of *Ubakawa*. The village acquired its name from a castle built there when a vassal of the Shiba family in Echizen was installed as deputy governor of Owari by Yoshishige, the first Shiba to be appointed governor of that province. The deputy governor who built Iwakura Castle was an Oda, whose most famous descendant was Nobunaga. If the Ōei-era Shiba had been known as Owari-*ke*, Nobunaga, who established his hegemony over all the other Oda branches throughout the province, was called 'King of Owari' by the Jesuits. Thus the double image of the husband in *Ubakawa* is sustained by providing Shiba Yoshishige as Kyōgoku Takatomo's father-in-law and Nobunaga as Kyōgoku Takayoshi's benefactor.

The Oda branch that resided in Iwakura Castle also owned the better-known Inuyama Castle, and this may be the only clue to the date of *Ubakawa* as well as to the identity of 'Naruse' in the father's name. The sole Naruse associated with Owari is a family descended from Nitta Yoshishige, who made news in 1611 when the court posthumously awarded him the title of shogun and the exalted court title of *Gon-Dainagon* at the request (or insistence) of Tokugawa Ieyasu, who claimed direct descent. It was also in 1611 that another Nitta scion, Naruse Masanari, was granted 10,000 *koku* in Owari and *de facto* ruling power over the province, as the appointed guardian of Ieyasu's less than bright son Yoshinao, lord of the new Owari clan established in 1610. After 1617 this Naruse family owned Inuyama Castle, but their actual residence there could have begun earlier enough for the author to have been able to superimpose their name on the father figure, Oda Nobunaga.[9]

To summarize, the possible models for the main characters in the three Cinderella tales are as follows:

Hanayo no Hime

Heroine: Hanayo-no-hime = Hosokawa Gracia Tama

Father: Bungo-no-kami Moritaka = Ōtomo Sōrin Francisco Yoshishige + Wada Koremasa

[9] The late Naruse Masakatsu 成瀬正勝, scholar of Japanese literature, was, and now his heir is, the only private owner of a castle (Inuyama Castle) in present-day Japan.

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Husband: Saishō, Tango-no-kami Moriie = Hosokawa Tadaoki
Father-in-law: Chūnagon = Hosokawa Yūsai Fujitaka

Hachikazuki

Heroine: Hachikazuki = Gracia Hosokawa's sister and Nobunaga's adopted daughter
Father: Bitchū-no-kami Sanetaka = Araki Murashige + Oda Nobunaga
Husband: Saishō = Tsutsui Sadatsugu
Father-in-law: Chūjō = Tsutsui Junkei

Ubakawa

Heroine: No name = Kyōgoku Maria + Mōri Hideyori's daughter
Father: Naruse no Saemon Kiyomune = Shiba Yoshishige + Oda Nobunaga
Husband: Sasaki no Jūrō Takayoshi = Kyōgoku Takayoshi + Kyōgoku Takatomo
Father-in-law: Sasaki no Minbu Takakiyo = Kyōgoku Takamitsu + Takakiyo

The most salient feature of this list is that it includes no less than eight Christian converts of the daimyo class, at least three of whom received baptism within five years of Hideyoshi's proscription edict, 1587, and each happened to play a central role in a dramatic incident directly related to the Jesuit cause.

Models in Jesuit Records

THE first daimyo to receive baptism was Ōmura Sumitada in Yokoseura, followed in the same year, 1563, by Takayama Dario Hida-no-kami Nagafusa and his son Justo Ukon in Kyoto. By 1579, when the Jesuit Visitor Alessandro Valignano arrived in Japan, there were said to be nearly a hundred thousand converts, 43 missionaries, but only six Christian daimyo.[10] Of the eight noble Christians apparently featured in the Cinderella cycle, all but Sōrin and the elder Kyōgokus were baptized during the period in which Hideyoshi's anti-Christian edict, 1587, was already in effect, if not actively enforced. Except for Sōrin in Kyushu, moreover, all resided in the capital region, where the Jesuit base had been first established by Gaspar Vilela in 1559–66, developed by Luis Frois in 1564–76, and ably expanded by Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo from 1570 on.

Organtino possessed first-hand knowledge of all the probable Christian models for the Cinderella cycle, although Frois, the prolific Jesuit chronicler, continued to record detailed accounts of such prominent individuals even after he had moved to Kyushu. Reliable sources indicate that Organtino baptized Kyōgoku Takayoshi and Maria, Tsutsui Sadatsugu, Kyōgoku Takatomo, and in all probability their wives, that is, all the models except Sōrin, who was baptized by Francisco Cabral, and Hosokawa Gracia, who received baptism at home from a lady companion under the instruction of Organtino and Gregorio de Cespedes.

[10] Pacheco, p. 56.

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Another important figure is Valignano, the Visitor who came to Japan three times, in the first of which he conferred at length with Sōrin. Valignano's exalted position and extensive itinerary accorded him direct access not only to Nobunaga and Hideyoshi but also doubtless to various Christian daimyo, especially Sōrin and the highly placed younger generation of the faithful.

In *Hanayo no Hime*, a dominant half of the father figure is Ōtomo Sōrin, whose contribution to the Jesuit cause needs no reiteration here. Since all foreigners landed in Kyushu and most spent some orientation period in Bungo, no Jesuit, whether European or Japanese, could have remained ignorant of the Ōtomo family affairs that would directly affect the Christian mission in Japan, even without Frois' letters providing meticulous details. Sōrin's personal charisma, moreover, played a role in transposing Western cultural heritage into a Japanese context. For example, Sōrin argued that 'conversion to Christianity should not involve a loss of cultural inheritance but ought in fact to produce a spiritual enrichment.'[11] His belief reinforced Valignano's own views, and this eventually culminated in a brief but fruitful period of Jesuit publications in Japan.

A rather fastidious touch in *Hanayo no Hime* is that the father is identified as '*Wada no ichimon* [kindred of Wada] *Bungo-no-kami*' instead of simply '*Wada no Bungo-no-kami*', perhaps distinguishing Wada Koremasa, who never received baptism despite his devotion to the Christian cause, from Sōrin, who did so in the face of difficulties posed by his political and family problems. Wada's name appears frequently in Frois' early letters, for he was instrumental in arranging the missionary's audience with Nobunaga in 1569 and having the confiscated Kyoto church property restored in the same year so that Organtino and Takayama Dario (Wada's friend) could eventually construct a church known to the Japanese as Nambanji. As befitted his military acclaim, Wada also extended protection over Frois and the Japanese Brother Lourenço against physical harm. At a debate before Nobunaga, for example, the belligerent challenger, Abbot Nichijō of the Hokke sect, attempted to cut off Lourenço's head demanding to see the immortal Christian soul with his own eyes, and Wada together with Nobunaga and others restrained him. The agitated abbot later pushed Frois hard against Sakuma Nobumori, and the concerned Wada and Sakuma personally escorted Frois back to the safety of the church grounds.[12]

At the malicious slander of Nichijō, Wada was later relieved of his estate in Settsu and took the tonsure, but the unpredictable Nobunaga restored him to grace and accorded him the position of commanding general in the impending campaign against the combined Asai-Asakura forces. Nichijō was the hostile mouthpiece for Matsunaga Hisahide, who persistently tried to eliminate the Chris-

[11] Joseph Jennes, *A History of the Catholic Church in Japan*, Tokyo, 1973, p. 19.

[12] Frois (1 June 1569), in Murakami Naojirō 村上直次郎, tr., *Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin* 耶蘇会士日本通信, Shunnansha, 1941, II, pp. 12–14; original Portuguese text in *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreverão . . .*, Evora, 1598 [facsimile edition, Tenri Central Library, 1972], I, ff. 263v-4v.

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tian presence from the capital region. The physical threat was so real that when Wada died in a sally to rescue Takayama Dario, Organtino and other Jesuits sought refuge in the Madonna Hall of Sanga Castle for fear that hostile elements might make a swift move against Christians in their sudden loss of their dedicated protector.

As for the model of the heroine, no Japanese woman can match Hosokawa Gracia in her combined qualities of beauty, literary talent, courage, endurance, nobility, fecundity, and devotion—all projected on to Hanayo—and above all, in her tragic yet romantic life ending in an unforgettable manner. When her father Akechi destroyed his master Nobunaga in a coup in 1582, only to be killed by a looting peasant two weeks later, his entire family was believed to have died in the aftermath, including Gracia's sisters and their husbands. But Hosokawa Tadaoki, who had married Akechi Tama (Gracia) in 1579 on Nobunaga's order, so deeply loved his wife that he concealed her in remote mountains for nearly two years until Hideyoshi encouraged him to recall her and install her in the new Hosokawa mansion built outside Osaka Castle.

While Tadaoki was away on a military campaign, Tama managed to slip out and visit the Jesuit church, where she spoke to the Japanese Brother Cosme and pleaded with Cespedes to grant her baptism on the spot. While Cespedes was hesitating to take such a precipitous action involving an unidentified noble lady, Tama was taken back by Hosokawa retainers and never permitted to leave the mansion again. Determined to become a Christian, however, Tama received religious instruction from the missionaries by way of a Christian lady-in-waiting, Maria, who was eventually permitted to baptize her with the name of Gracia in 1587.[13]

In 1600, after Tadaoki had left Osaka to spearhead the Tokugawa expedition, ostensibly against Uesugi Kagekatsu but actually with the intention of baiting Ishida Mitsunari into overt action, Mitsunari ordered Gracia to move into Osaka Castle as the first hostage, to be followed by other daimyo families in an attempt to secure the loyalty of their husbands or at least neutralize them. Gracia refused to leave the mansion without her husband's permission and died in a fire that consumed the building. Badly shaken by her death and his own tactical error, Mitsunari abandoned his hostage plan. Gracia's self-sacrifice, therefore, contributed considerably to Ieyasu's subsequent victory at Sekigahara, not only by sparing his allies difficult emotional and moral dilemmas but also by inflaming their sense of outrage against Ishida. Needless to say, the female members of the daimyo households in the Osaka area—the prime consumers of *otogizōshi* tales—must have felt painfully indebted to Gracia for literally saving their lives, especially since the Ishida defeat soon became a matter of record.

Gracia died in July 1600 at the age of thirty-seven and in October, at Tadaoki's request, Organtino presided at a grand Christian funeral attended by some thousand mourners. Gracia's life was well known to Organtino; he had received various

[13] Frois (20 February 1588), in Murakami Naojirō, tr., *Iezusukai Nihon Nenpō* イエズス会日本年報, Yūshōdō, 1969, II, pp. 261–6; *Cartas*, II, ff. 258–8v.

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reports from Maria and had once dissuaded Gracia from fleeing to Kyushu in her attempt to save her attendants from physical punishment by her enraged husband upon learning of her conversion to Christianity.[14]

In *Hachikazuki*, however, models are not nearly so well documented in history or clearly identifiable. Tsutsui Sadatsugu is unmistakable, but little is known about his personal life, other than a few facts such as that he was chosen out of a number of nephews to be Junkei's heir in 1571, and that he was a young guest-hostage in Nobunaga's domain in 1575 when Nobunaga married him off to one of his daughters (although some sources specify that she had been adopted from Akechi).[15]

The Akechi genealogy presents a problem, for scholars have come to the conclusion that none of the extant sources of information is reliable. *Taikōki* reports that three male and three female Akechi children died at the fall of Sakamoto Castle in 1582, and *Shinsen Toyotomi Jitsuroku* agrees with this figure. *Akechi Gunki*, however, identifies the children by name wherever possible, four females and four younger males in all. The eldest daughter appears to have been Rin (wife of Akechi Mitsuharu), the third Gracia, the fourth Kiku (wife of Oda Nobuzumi, Nobunaga's disgruntled nephew). The second daughter, listed as Akechi Mitsutada's wife, is quite nebulous in her identity and might have been the one adopted by Nobunaga, except that the dates of her birth and marriage (if accurate) are too early for her to have become Tsutsui Sadatsugu's wife.

Whether his wife was an Akechi or not, Sadatsugu's name crops up in the Akechi genealogy in an unconfirmed connection, for Mitsuhide's second son, Jūjiro Sadayori, was supposed to have been adopted by Sadatsugu in 1577 on Nobunaga's order. A certain family connection between the Akechi and the Tsutsui seems a definite possibility in view of the famous incident of Horagatōge, which in reference to Tsutsui Junkei's attitude has come to mean 'opportunism' or 'fence-sitting'. After successfully eliminating Nobunaga, Akechi counted most heavily on the Hosokawa and Tsutsui families to join forces with him in securing hegemony over all the other daimyo. With their unfailing instinct for choosing the right side throughout their history, the Hosokawa promptly pronounced themselves in mourning, father and son shaving their heads. But Tsutsui Junkei subjected himself to adverse historical judgment by supposedly promising loyal support to his former benefactor and then failing to move at the crucial moment at Horagatōge Pass.

When even Mitsuhide's close and long-time friend Yūsai and his son-in-law Tadaoki showed no inclination to help at all, Tsutsui Junkei must have had some powerful obligation toward Akechi to promise assistance. It is entirely probable that the wife of his heir, Sadatsugu, was an Akechi-Oda whose identity faded

[14] Organtino (24 February 1589), quoted in Johannes Laures, '*Hosokawa-ke no Kirishitan*' 細川家のキリシタン, in *Kirishitan Kenkyū* キリシタン研究, Yōyōsha, #4, 1957, pp. 23–4.

[15] Only two of Nobunaga's more than seven consorts are known to have borne a daughter each; one married Tokugawa Ieyasu's eldest son, but the name and fate of the other are untraceable.

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when her husband was obliged to commit *seppuku* by shogunal decree in 1615.

In any case, the Tsutsui contribution to the Christian church had begun in 1577, when Akechi Mitsuhide and Tsutsui Junkei destroyed Matsunaga Hisahide, the most belligerent adversary of the missionaries in the Kyoto region. By the time Junkei was awarded Yamato, Matsunaga's former possession, in 1580 and passed it on to Sadatsugu four years later, Christianity had made an inroad into this province. But Sadatsugu fell into Ieyasu's disfavor and was deprived of his Iga fief in 1608, and it is generally accepted that it was his Christian faith that brought about his downfall. Ultimately accused of consorting with Ōno Harunaga, a favorite of Toyotomi Hideyori, Satatsugu was ordered to commit suicide in 1615, a year after the Tokugawa anti-Christian edict. Historical sources are confused as regards the identity of Sadatsugu's wife, but a popular theory maintains that she was a former daughter-in-law of Araki Murashige.

The Jesuit view of Araki Murashige, the model for Hachikazuki's father, was a mixture of positive and negative. On several recorded occasions in 1577, he warmly welcomed missionaries and promised them his full cooperation in their work. But crisis struck in the following year when Araki turned against Nobunaga, obliging his vassal Takayama Dario and his son Justo to choose between him and Nobunaga. Dario refused to compromise his loyalty and joined Araki in his castle, while Justo, in view of Nobunaga's threat to crucify all the missionaries in public view, accepted the ruler's offer. Araki was sufficiently lenient to return his hostages unharmed, an act of human decency gratefully noted by the relieved missionaries. In contrast to Frois, who was once forced to hide in the hay while Araki's troops shot bullets barely over his head at chickens, Organtino seems to have developed some degree of sympathy for Araki through personal contact.

There is, therefore, no doubt that the Jesuits, particularly Organtino, had not only the knowledge of the Cinderella models but also personal contact with them in the late Muromachi period. But what about Shiba Yoshishige, the ancient model for the father in *Ubakawa*? Frois reports, 'There was an elderly man by the name of Shiba Sancho [Yoshikane], who might be called the Duke of Owari. Having been deprived of his domains in the course of wars, he had been a guest in a Yamato castle, when he happened to hear some sermons and became a Christian along with his sons.'[16] Yoshikane was a main-line descendant of the Shiba family, which had already lost Echizen and Tōtōmi, and barely retained nominal governorship of Owari, where actual power rested in the hands of the Oda family. Nobunaga once established Yoshikane as his titular master, but the latter sought the aid of Ikkō monk-soldiers and fled to Kawachi. Thereupon Takayama Dario took him in and provided for his family, inviting him to attend Christian services and sermons. Frois and Organtino undoubtedly came into contact with Yoshikane at Takayama's castle and noted the vicissitudes of his clan history with interest, for the Jesuit sources as a whole reveal keen concern and sensitivity in regard to transition of secular power and differentiation between titular and actual sovereignty.

[16] Frois (20 August 1576), in *Yasokaishi*, II, p. 316; *Cartas*, I, f. 366v.

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Similarly, the Jesuits were in contact with the Kyōgoku family, and an account of the baptism of Takayoshi and his wife is included in the Annual Letter of 1581. Some 25 years later, in 1606, the Jesuits in Kyoto arranged an elaborate funeral service for Magdalena, daughter of Kyōgoku Maria, at which the Japanese Brother Fabian preached an eloquent sermon. One dramatic outcome of this Christian funeral was a special decree reaffirming the expulsion edict issued by Magdalena's enraged cousin, the dowager mother of Toyotomi Hideyori.[17]

HAVING suggested historical personages who may have been used as models for the main characters appearing in the Cinderella cycle and having shown the Christian background of these people, we may now examine various corroborating details in each story to strengthen the hypothesis.

Hanayo no Hime

WITHIN the cycle, the father in *Hanayo no Hime* is the only one who marries three times—the heroine's mother, the cruel stepmother, and the heroine's father-in-law's niece. It has been argued above that the father in this story is a composite character based on Ōtomo Sōrin and Wada Koremasa, and the former's marriages certainly fit him for the role in *Hanayo no Hime*. Ōtomo was married three times. His first and childless wife was of Ashikaga lineage and was divorced around 1550; the marriage in all probability had been a political match. The second and longest marriage was to a daughter of the priest superior at Nada Hachiman Shrine in Bungo; this wife was nicknamed Jezebel by the Jesuits on account of her anti-Christian attitude. Before receiving baptism, Sōrin divorced this wife in 1578 and then married his third wife, the mother-in-law of Sōrin's second son, Sebastian Chikaie, the first Ōtomo to become Christian. Soon baptized Julia at Sōrin's suggestion, she bore him a daughter. This wife seems to double as the model for both Hanayo's real mother and her father's third wife, while the wicked stepmother (Moritaka's second wife) represents Jezebel (Sōrin's second wife). The jealous Jezebel once nearly succeeded in having Julia's newborn daughter killed, just as the stepmother in the story plotted the death of Hanayo. Further, Julia was a noble lady, related to Sōrin by her daughter's marriage, just as the third wife in *Hanayo no Hime* is related to Moritaka by his daughter's marriage. It is unclear whether Julia had been a widow or a divorcée, as in the case of Moritaka's bride, who is supposed to have 'lived alone for the past three years owing to a miscarried vow'—a piece of information furnished abruptly and gratuitously into the tale. Hanayo's wicked stepmother escapes harsh villain nemesis possibly because of Jezebel's apparent change of heart after she was deserted by Sōrin; within five years, she ceased to interfere with Christian missionary work, allowed her eldest son and daughter to attend services, and even showed some spirit of cooperation.

[17] Urakawa Wasaburo 浦川和三郎, tr., '*1606-nen Yasokai Nenpō*' 耶蘇会年報, in *Kirishitan Kenkyū*, Tōyōdō, #3, 1948, pp. 4–6.

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Wada Koremasa, the secondary model for Hanayo no Hime's father, is honored as a renowned warrior general. In the story, the father's anxious journey to Chūnagon's mansion is depicted as a bustling procession of numerous attendants, stretching down the road and jostling their pikes and halberds; onlookers wonder where Lord Moritaka is going in such a grand manner after a lengthy period of seclusion. This could well be a description of Wada's departure as the commanding general of Nobunaga's expedition against the Asai-Asakura, clandestinely launched after Nobunaga had restored him to grace out of forced retirement as a lay monk. Absence of these details in the other variants of the Cinderella cycle makes them peculiar to *Hanayo no Hime*.

Moreover, this tale alone not only mentions but emphatically dwells on the respectful but friendly relationship between the father and father-in-law, reminiscent of the closeness between Wada and his comrade, Hosokawa Yūsai. And it sounds almost a historical lament when the father (Ōtomo-Wada) voices his envy of the father-in-law (Yūsai) for his upstanding sons. Wada's young son was foolishly tricked into a fight and promptly destroyed soon after his father's death, while Sōrin's heir was all too ready to apostatize under the proscription edict. In contrast, Yūsai's second son, Okimoto, was a faithful Christian, and Tadaoki showed all signs of respect and cooperation regarding the missionary cause, at least until 1611. The Christian Okimoto casts his shadow over the husband Saishō, for he is designated as a younger son of the family, as also are Tsutsui Sadatsugu, the adopted son, and Kyōgoku Takatomo, the younger son. Ultimogeniture is, of course, a conspicuous motif in fairy tales and legends, such as in the case of Joseph, in Genesis 37, 39–41.

The name of the heroine's nurse is particularly illuminating for she is called Akashi no Uba, meaning both Nurse Akashi and Nurse of Akashi, the father having named her after Lady Akashi in *Genji Monogatari*. On the other hand, Saishō's nurse is known as Nurse of Fourth Rank, obviously on account of her charge's rank. By the same token, Nurse of Akashi implies that her charge, Hanayo, is Akashi, meaning Bright Stone or Jewel (*tama*), corresponding to Hosokawa Tama. In *Hanayo no Hime*, the heroine is described as *tama no gotoku* (like a jewel) or *tama o migakeru* (polished gem) on three significant occasions—when she is born, when Saishō sees her for the first time, and when his parents meet her at the bride contest. In addition, the diviner in the story uses '*tama*' as a metaphor for the heroine when she predicts that the girl 'lies dormant under arrowroot leaves, but the spring wind will uncover the jewel [*tama*] glowing brightly with love.' The Christian name Gracia is echoed repeatedly in the word '*mōshigo*', a gift child or divine blessing, that is, grace.

One further implication of Akashi is related to Gracia's conversion. The Christian daimyo Takayama Justo Ukon had been Lord of Akashi from 1585 to 1587, when he was dispossessed by Hideyoshi as an object lesson to other Christian daimyo. But during this short two-year period Gracia was profoundly influenced by Ukon's faith. She met him twice in person—in 1580 at her father-in-law's castle

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and five years later at the Hosokawa mansion in Osaka; with both Tadaoki and Maria present, the conversation centered on Christian doctrine and way of life. Thereafter the jealous Tadaoki did not allow his beautiful wife to appear in the presence of Ukon, but he continued to pass on to Gracia the Christian beliefs expressed by Ukon at their frequent meetings. It is in accord with historical truth, therefore, to call the Lord of Akashi a spiritual nurse to Gracia, for he was the single most powerful and immediate influence on her spiritual growth leading to conversion.

Other variants in the Japanese cycle exhibit none of these distinctive features of *Hanayo no Hime*: no other nurse has a name other than her charge's rank; no other heroine is so beautiful as 'a polished gem', even when other clichés are used with unabashed frequency, such as 'heavenly maiden descended on earth' (all variants), 'beyond the power of word or picture' (#65), 'a willow in the spring breeze' (#66)—all of which expressions occur also in *Hanayo no Hime*; and finally, no other heroine is called *mōshigo* outright, even though some versions offer elaborate episodes of Kannon granting a child.

Ikeda Yasaburō has speculated that *Hanayo no Hime*, which is heavily imbued with provincial color, is probably the Hachikazuki tale adapted to the Shizuoka setting and developed as the miracle tale of Numazu Kannon.[18] *Hanayo no Hime*, however, makes no mention of a temple or a particular Kannon of any specific locality. In fact, the heroine and her parents worship Kannon enshrined in a *jibutsudō* (household prayer hall), reminiscent of the Madonna Halls which some Christian daimyo set up in their castles, and the grateful father later erects a place of worship in Kannon's honor to be frequented by the public. He is the only father to do this in the Cinderella cycle, just as Ōtomo Sōrin was the only model who directly contributed to the actual building of the Jesuit centers. Kannon is, after all, an inevitable Buddhist counterpart of the Virgin Mary, whether used as a discreet code name for the Madonna in the original text (a tenuous theory at best) or more likely substituted later in the tradition of 'Maria Kannon' venerated by the hidden Christians through the centuries of persecution.

Hosokawa Gracia herself made a furtive visit to a church only once in her life, when she pleaded with Cespedes and conversed with Cosme before being hurried back home. Quite possibly this incident is reflected in the cave episode in *Hanayo no Hime*. *Yamauba* (old woman of the mountain) has been associated, not very convincingly, with an aged Shinto priestess or even the mountain goddess herself; but the actual description of the old woman in the tale portrays nothing like a Japanese woman, however aged, all apart from the hint that she is carnivorous. She is depicted as a creature with a tray-like face (square rather than the predominant Japanese oval or oblong face), deep-set bulging eyes, a wide mouth, a pointed beak-like hooked nose, a gigantic head, and curly red hair. What else could this evoke but the awesome image of the Southern Barbarians (*nambanjin*) spicing

[18] Ikeda Yasaburō 池田彌三郎, *Bungaku to Minzokugaku* 文学と民俗学, Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1966, p. 110.

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many Muromachi paintings and screens? The mountain of treasures issuing from the little pouch given to the heroine by the old woman may well be the spiritual riches of the 'lilies of the field', but in *Hanayo no Hime* the manner of their description and the choice of items resemble a foreign trader's bill of lading: gold, silver, twill damask, brocade, Chinese fabric, Chinese satin. And the father's gifts are listed by types of material conspicuous with the prefix '*kara*' (Chinese or Korean), in marked contrast to the clothing and gifts described in more specific terms and color in *Hachikazuki*.

Hanayo no Hime is manifestly related to foreign trade (Portuguese and Chinese), which was a commercial domain virtually monopolized by the Ōtomo, the Jesuits, and the tea-master merchants of Sakai for some time. Further, the story contains a unique episode of an incense game, at which the father-in-law recognizes the rare Celestial Robe contained in a box bearing a Chinese epigraphic picture. Incense was one of the luxury items imported from China. The tale calls attention to the religious efficacy of incense, a requisite at High Mass in a Catholic church: '. . . the lovely scent suffused the air, as if to cleanse one's mind of all sins.' Incense was also important in the art of the tea ceremony, for which both Yūsai and Tadaoki were renowned.

Yet another factor contributes to relating Gracia to Hanayo. As Hanayo narrowly escapes death at the hand of a samurai, receives warning that any attempt to return home would mean instant execution, and spends a frightening night deep in the mountain, Gracia was placed in a mountain village of Mitono in Tamba following her father's uprising and death. As did the fictional princess at the cave and at the house of Saishō's nurse, Gracia remained in hiding under threat of discovery and death from summer through spring, for a year and eight months, during which Tadaoki was forced to sever all communication for the sake of her safety. Hanayo's acute fear ('If our relationship should come to light, what terrible fate would befall me?') implies much more than an unfounded apprehension of a young girl in love, for discovery would have led to immediate death for Gracia in real life. Eight months into her seclusion, when Gracia suffered a miscarriage, she at least received from her husband a single poem remarkable for its masculine style and positive outlook:

な嘆きそ	Grieve not.
枯れしと見ゆる	You shall see another spring
草も芽も	When the grasses and buds,
再び萠ゆる	Now believed lifeless,
春にあはむに	Burgeon forth once more.[19]

[19] Miura Ayako 三浦綾子, *Hosokawa Garashia Fujin* 細川ガラシア夫人, Shufu no Tomo Sha, 1977, p. 258.

In answer to my inquiry as to the source of the quoted poems, Ms Miura replied that she had taken them from a manuscript in the possession of an anonymous collector in Kyushu. I have been unable to locate even a single poem reliably attributed to Gracia in any historical source, but I feel that the degree of plausibility involved here justifies the inclusion of these poems in a literary context.

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Hanayo's poem, overheard by Saishō, is almost a reply to Tadaoki's verse:

人知れず	Unbeknownst to anyone,
なみだのかかる	Tears fall on my sleeves.
わがそでを	Leaving me no time
ほすひまもなき	To dry them out,
はるにあうかな	Another spring has come upon me.

On the other hand, Saishō's message accompanying a spray of plum blossom presented to Hanayo can be considered a touching response to Gracia's heart-rending lament at Mitono:

Gracia:	逢ふと見て	Your incense so pervaded
	かさぬる袖に	Our crossed sleeves.
	移り香の	Searching in vain for its lingering scent,
	のこらぬにこそ	I realized our meeting
	夢と知りぬる	Had been but a dream.[20]
Saishō:	恋しさを	Plum blossoms,
	つゝみてぞやる	I send my longing
	梅のはな	Enclosed in you.
	にほひをとめよ	Leave your perfume
	君がたもとに	In the sleeves of my beloved.

In any case, Saishō is clearly identified with perfume in *Hanayo no Hime*, for even before the heroine beholds him for the first time her attention is caught by his scent, reminding her of happier days past. And the morning after their clandestine connubial pledge, Saishō 'returned to his quarters, separating their sleeves crossed in the night.' By no means original, this expression of crossed sleeves has been familiar since *Man'yōshū* poetry, but it is significant that it does not occur in the other Cinderella variants. While no other heroine is much concerned with the sincerity of her suitors and the Otogibunko Hachikazuki worries about the uncertainty of her future, Hanayo expresses profound pessimism on the nature of male behavior and the sad lot of being born a woman. Is it purely coincidental that the same theme runs through a series of Gracia's poems from Mitono that had been possibly preserved by Maria, who attended her closely during her seclusion?

いつわりと	Knowing it false,
思う契りを	I cannot help seeking
せめて身の	What little comfort
慰むかたに	To be derived from his pledge.
たのむはかなさ	How wretched of me!

[20] Miura, p. 238.

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さだめなき	Having seen through
心と人を	His heart inconstant,
見しかども	I find my anguish
つらさはついに	None the less
変らざりけり	As ever before.
憂きを憂しと	Am I beyond feeling
思わざるべき	Anguish as anguishing?
わが身かは	Why is it, then,
なにとて人の	I dare still
恋しかるらん	To long for my love?[21]

Some minor details in *Hanayo no Hime* parallel additional facts from Gracia's life. Hanayo has a memorial service performed twice on her behalf, the first after she is lost and the second after the father has an encouraging oracle dream. Gracia, too, had two Christian services on her behalf, the one officiated by Organtino and the other at Kokura in the new Hosokawa fief of Buzen, and both were impressive affairs much talked about. *Hanayo no Hime* also emphasizes the virtues of the mother-in-law and her tender love for the princess, a feature not found in the other variants. Hosokawa Yūsai's wife, Gracia's mother-in-law, was baptized in 1600 or 1601, presumably inspired by her daughter-in-law's demonstration of faith. The heroine's fecundity, certainly a fairy-tale essential, has a foundation in Gracia's own record despite her premature death, for she bore three sons and two daughters.

Gracia's father, Akechi Mitsuhide, seems to cast a shadow over the samurai who abducts the heroine. This samurai is the only character, principal or secondary, who draws what appears to be unduly harsh punishment, even though in effect he managed to save the heroine's life. Granted that the abduction was a ruse concocted by the stepmother, the poor samurai accomplice is after all carrying out what he believes to be the orders of the father. Nowhere is he identified, however, as the father's retainer. Then one may ask why is he punished by the extreme penalty of slow execution by a bamboo saw, a punishment tacitly reserved in the late Muromachi period, and ultimately stipulated in the Edo penal codes to be, exclusively for the crime of treason?

Historical records indicate that Mitsuhide's name did not become synonymous with 'traitor' until well into the Confucian Edo period, understandable enough in view of the rampant assassinations in the later Muromachi period, when Nobunaga himself was the most successful of the 'traitors'. It seems, moreover, that Mitsuhide was summoned to the imperial court within eight days of his uprising and appointed *shikken*, or regent, with administrative powers, in theory, throughout Japan.

Then in whose eyes was Mitsuhide a traitor deserving the severest punishment? The Jesuit records label him unequivocally a man who killed his own lord. He was,

[21] Miura, p. 293.

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after all, the murderer of the most powerful benefactor of the Christians, whom they could little afford to lose, as verified by subsequent events. Within the context of Gracia's life, Mitsuhide, her father, is the unwitting but direct cause of her forced removal from home, of the threat to her life, and of her acute suffering. Villain nemesis, therefore, must be carried out on his fictional alter ego in *Hanayo no Hime* rather than on the benevolent spiritual father figure in the tale. (Hachikazuki's father, in contrast, is punished with financial ruin and mental agony of remorse, while the father in *Ubakawa* is simply dropped out of the story.)

One final consideration. Hanayo is surrounded by a battery of attendants, the principal ones even being accorded names. In addition to Nurse Akashi and her daughter Kochō, there is Kojijū, who is 'young, genteel, and faithful', conspicuously given the honorific suffix '*-dono*'. She has to be Maria, Gracia's companion who performed her baptism. Born Kiyohara Kayo, she was known as Kojijū ('Little Jijū'), in accordance with the custom of calling a lady by the rank of her father or some other male relation. Two years Gracia's junior, she was beautiful and learned, and all but a sister to her mistress. In a tale so heavily infused with Christian ambience, why is such a central figure relegated to a negligible part? It is perhaps because she was already slated for a starring role in a story of her own.

Mikanagi-bon Hachikazuki *and Maria Kojijū*

THE Mikanagi-*bon* text (#65) differs from the Otogibunko *Hachikazuki* in significant aspects: the father is called Kiyohara no (Set)tsu-no-kami Yukikata; the heroine is a gift child of Hase Kannon destined to wear a box *and* a bowl given by Kannon; her husband Chūjō, son of Kampaku (Chancellor), is appointed Nai-Daijin (fourth-ranking minister) with vast but unspecified estates around Kyoto; no villain nemesis is mentioned, and the father is not only appointed Sa-Daijin (second-ranking minister) but also commandant of the capital area; the bowl and the box are enshrined in the treasure house at Uji; the story is set in Kyoto rather than in a province.

The father's name, Kiyohara no Yukikata, is a curious departure from the other Hachikazuki variants, as well as *Hanayo no Hime*, which have the paternal name ending in '-taka'. This has been dismissed as a careless juxtaposition of *kana* scripts that somehow entered this text. Yet the Kiyohara was a distinguished court family; the most illustrious Kiyohara in the Muromachi period was Nobukata, a scholar of Confucianism, Shinto, and Japanese literature, who tutored Emperor Go-Nara in his crown-prince days and authored many books. His daughter was the mother of Hosokawa Yūsai and a former wife of shogun Yoshiharu; thus Yūsai was reared and tutored by Nobukata. Moreover, Nobukata held the rank of *Jijū*, and the Mikanagi-*bon* nurse is called Jijū, hinting that her charge was identified with this rank (once removed, or young Jijū—Kojijū).

A more pertinent figure, however, is Nobukata's grandson, Yorikata, probably the very first court noble to be baptized, around 1564, after a debate with Lourenço, and this Yorikata was the father of Maria Kojijū. No contemporary reader of the

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daimyo class would have missed the implication of a father called Kiyohara no -kata with a beautiful daughter under divine protection, both for the eminence of the Kiyohara name and Maria's recent part in the sensational saga of Lady Gracia. Small wonder if the Mikanagi-*bon* is closest to *Hanayo no Hime* in its flowing style, distinctive expressions, and certain distinctive details.

The heroine's father grieves over his lack of offspring and envies the birds raising their families (as does Hanayo no Hime's mother); the mother's pregnancy is similarly mentioned; the heroine is cared for by a bevy of sixteen attendants (that is, seventeen minus Maria; Gracia's seventeen attendants were known to have preceded their mistress in receiving baptism); without the father's knowledge, the stepmother has the heroine abandoned in Kyoto on the pretext of following the father's orders; the treasures are more exotic—ivory, lion's teeth, agate belt, glass cup, tiger and leopard skins. Further, the adjectives and imagery in the Mikanagi-*bon* are purely Japanese and fluid as in *Hanayo no Hime*, unlike the Otogibunko *Hachikazuki*, which is weighed down with Chinese loan words and stock phrases. And the father's role is fashioned with deference: it is he who prays to Kannon and receives oracles; he even composes a poem; he is granted the highest court position and the longest life in the tale. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the heroine in the Mikanagi-*bon* is the only Hachikazuki who is thrown into the river by the father-in-law instead of her attempting suicide. Maria was baptized as a child (unlike other female models whose conversion took place in all probability after their marriage), hence no suicide for this heroine even before her betrothal.

The bowl in this version is a Chinese-looking blue metal bowl, reminiscent of Chinese art work in Ming blue, while the gold-lacquered chest placed inside and later enshrined is called the box of the eight-stemmed rare crest. Anyone who has seen the Hosokawa crest known as the *kuyōmon* (nine-star crest, adopted by Tadaoki) would agree that it resembles an eight-petal blossom with its eight small spherical stars surrounding one large sphere in the center.[22] Three petals less and it would be a perfect plum blossom, to which Hanayo is constantly likened. So Maria Kojijū Hachikazuki might have been conceived as the beneficiary as well as guardian of Gracia's memory and spiritual heritage. As for the bowl adhering to her head, the text of the Mikanagi-*bon* associates the heroine's anguish with a sense of disgrace: 'How wretched I feel thus displaying my disgrace [*haji*] and suffering derision from many people.' The word *haji* (shame, disgrace) written without *dakuten* in this text appears, of course, as *hachi*, exactly the same as the word for 'bowl'.

The Hosokawa clan history, *Menkō Shūroku*, states that Kojijū, who was related

[22] This description applies only to the early Hosokawa crest of Tadaoki, as embossed on the European-style bell preserved in Kyoto (photograph in Cooper, p. 193). What is known today as the Hosokawa *kuyōmon*—a rather geometric design in which smaller spheres are placed well apart from the central sphere—was adopted in 1747, after Hosokawa Munetaka 細川宗孝 was assassinated by mistake because the Tadaoki crest was indistinguishable at a glance from the *kuyōdomoe* (nine comma-shaped spheres) of Itakura Katsukiyo 板倉勝清.

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by blood to the family, was a beauty comparable to Gracia (or, as some sources maintain, her split image); she once answered Hideyoshi's summons in Gracia's place and received his commendation that she was woman enough to deserve three husbands, for one of whom he would volunteer himself. According to most sources, Maria was baptized by Vilela and became an active member of the orphan nursery established by Agatha, wife of the archery teacher Andreas Ogasawara, around 1578. By all accounts, she was a devout Christian of impeccable reputation. Why then make her wear a bowl symbolizing sin and shame?

In appreciation of the honor allowed her in performing Gracia's baptism, Kojijū, or Maria, made a vow of chastity at the church in the presence of a priest and cut her hair short as a sign of sincerity.[23] Despite the vow, however, she eventually married. According to *Menkō Shūroku*, Kojijū was married at Tadaoki's command to a man named Matsumoto Inaba-no-kami and took the tonsure when she was widowed. Not a great deal is known about the date of her marriage, but some dozen letters presumably written by Gracia herself have been preserved by the Matsumoto family of the Ōmi Sasaki lineage.[24] They are addressed variously 'To Kojijū-*dono*', or 'To the Goodwife of Matsumoto', and the signature appears as 'From Ta', corresponding to an abbreviation of 'Tama' often used by Gracia. The letters, however, contain a number of references that make Gracia's authorship questionable.[25] Nevertheless, they prove one crucial point—Kiyohara Maria Kojijū did marry after she had taken a vow of chastity on her own accord. Cast into the river on the assumption that she had lain with Chūjō and had thus breached her vow, the Mikanagi-*bon* heroine flows down the deep river, now sinking, now floating, most likely weighed down by her metal bowl of shame (or Sin) and buoyed up by the wooden box of Love—twin forces in Christian psychology. The Mikanagi-*bon* Hachikazuki may be going through her penance ultimately to earn release from her vow.

A curious coincidence is found in a common belief that Maria Kojijū was compared to St Cecilia in her time. What aspect of this legendary saint of second- or third-century Italy could have inspired such a comparison? Obviously not Cecilia's renown as patroness of musicians. The most extraordinary part of the legend of the patrician Cecilia is that she died a virgin martyr despite her marriage. Forced by her father into marrying a pagan noble, she succeeded not only in securing his promise to respect her virginity but also in converting him; both were eventually martyred and buried in Rome. Cecilia, therefore, was one noble Christian lady who had managed to keep her religious vow while obeying an irrevocable secular command.

[23] Frois (20 February 1588), in *Iezusukai Nihon Nenpō*, II, pp. 264–5; *Cartas*, II, f. 220.

[24] Matsumoto Takashi 松本傑, '*Hosokawa Garashiya Fujin no Tegami*' 細川ガラシア夫人の手紙, in *Dokusho Shunjū* 読書春秋, VII, #9 (September 1976), pp. 12–3.

[25] In a letter dated 25th day, fourth month, of an unknown year, 'Ta' mentions her plan to travel to Kokura. Tadaoki did not receive his Kokura fief until well after Gracia's death. 'Ta' is possibly Tara, Gracia's daughter who was carried off to safety by Kojijū.

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The ending of the Mikanagi-*bon* is conspicuous in that the heroine announces that her father is descended from an emperor (of all the models, Kiyohara is the only one that can boast a legitimate main bloodline, tracing back to Emperor Tenmu in the seventh century); further, there is a surprising lack of offspring all but obligatory in the Japanese Cinderella cycle.

Careful reading of the four tales reveals another peculiarity of the Mikanagi-*bon* text in the description of the heroine-prince relationship. In *Hanayo no Hime*, the manfully commanding Saishō (very much in keeping with what is known of Tadaoki's personality) asks the heroine to become his, lies down with her upon his robe spread on the floor, and persuades her into yielding to his wishes. That they consummated the connubial act is unmistakable despite the delicate expression used. *Hachikazuki* is even more explicit: the fact that they sealed their pledge is repeated on no less than three occasions within four pages. *Ubakawa*, on the other hand, gives the impression of being a close copy of *Hanayo no Hime*: Takayoshi begs the heroine to seal the pledge and lies down beside her; she at last finds it impossible to resist his strength and they complete the eternal marital vow.

In contrast, the narrative description in Mikanagi-*bon* is enigmatic indeed. At first Chūjō 'summons the heroine to the bath and talks of the past and future' day after day, and then he begins to 'welcome the nightfall and summon her to his bedchamber'. The passage may be taken to mean that he continues to enjoy talking with her. Only the lady attendants gossip how indiscreet of Chūjō to 'lie pillow by pillow with such an ignominious creature'. There is not one word of cunnubial pledge or sensual description of the heroine's beauty, although she calls Chūjō her husband ('*tsuma*') in a poem that is strongly reminiscent of one of Gracia's verses:

よど河の	I so dearly long
なみとなみだに	For my husband
ぬるゝ袖	That I have no time to dry
ほすひまもあらず	My sleeves drenched
つまぞこひしき	With the River Yodo's waves and my tears.

As for the setting in Yamato and the father's title of Settsu-no-kami, it should suffice here to recall that Kojijū's father, Kiyohara Yorikata, was converted along with Yuki João Yamashiro-no-kami through their contact with the Jesuits when he and the fellow-scholar Yuki (whose family members were lords of various castles in Settsu-Kawachi) had been assigned the task of investigating Christian doctrine by order of Matsunaga Hisahide, then lord of Yamato.

Textual analysis has uncovered some evidence suggesting that the Mikanagi-*bon* may well be the earliest version of Hachikazuki, although corrupted and miscopied over the years. Or it may be more accurate to say that the Otogibunko *Hachikazuki*, which is generally accepted as the oldest variant, has a style that seems later than that of Mikanagi-*bon*. The style of *Hachikazuki* is decidedly more elaborate, using

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kakekotoba, or pivot words, and the sing-song 7–5 meter such as was later prevalent in Edo *jōruri*. These features, as well as meaningless references to place names, are unique to the Otogibunko *Hachikazuki* and its earlier and nearly identical version, *Hachikazuki no Sōshi*, #64, for they are absent from *Hanayo no Hime*, *Ubakawa*, Mikanagi-*bon*, and #66. Such idiosyncrasies are not partial retouches by later Edo publishers, because the text of #64 bears a publication date of 1659 and illustrations which Yokoyama considers even five or six years earlier.

There are also internal inconsistencies that cannot be dismissed easily. The bowl and box in the Mikanagi-*bon* are actual gifts from Kannon which the parents find after an oracle dream—a commonplace presentation of folklore motifs. In the Otogibunko version, on the other hand, the mother puts some things in a box that happens to be at hand, places it on the girl's head, and covers it with a bowl. The mother's poem accompanying this action is even more revealing: 'By the pledge to Kannon,/In whom I so profoundly trust,/I let her wear [these].' A prior occurrence of this motif in an earlier version would explain both this poem and the fact that the initial mention of the box is completely forgotten at the miraculous emergence of treasures, leaving only the bowl with a double compartment as a magic cornucopia in the Otogibunko text.

There are even more inconsistencies in #66. The dying mother places a heavy *box* on the girl's head in accordance to a promise to Kannon (although unexplained); the father is unable to remove the adhered *bowl*; and by the time it falls off, it is a *golden bowl* with three boxes inside. The Mikanagi-*bon* alone includes a detailed description (more than once) of the bowl and the box, their origin, and their eventual disposal, as well as a rather extensive account of the 'pledge' as a condition for granting a child, stipulated by Kannon herself.

If we assume for the moment that the Mikanagi-*bon* is the first version of the *Hachikazuki* type, the question arises concerning the origin of the motif of the bowl-bearing girl. Speculations along this line require much fuller treatment in a separate article, but a brief mention of a related Japanese story may be helpful at this point. The Mikanagi-*bon* variant has one striking feature that sits ill in its presumed Christian context—the specific cause of the parents' barrenness. An octogenarian who appears in the father's dream at Kiyomizu-dera reveals that the father in his former life not only sheared a blooming bush but even caused its death by digging it up; worse still, his wife had been a snake that used to swallow helpless birds, parent and nestling alike. In accordance with the oracle advice, Yukikata and his wife turn to Hase Kannon for help until a gift child is granted, along with an ominous prediction that the girl will lose her mother at the age of seven. This episode, unique within the Cinderella cycle, is all but an exact parallel to the premise in *Shintokumaru* ('Master Shintoku'), a *sekkyōbushi* or sermon story.

Having evolved out of Buddhist sermons around the late Kamakura to the early Muromachi period, *sekkyōbushi* was a genre of popular entertainment performed in theater as well as by the roadside by the early Edo period. *Shintokumaru* is one

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of the 'Five *Sekkyō*', which are believed to have constituted the core repertoire of *sekkyōbushi* until new works were written during its heyday from the mid-1620s to the 1670s. Primarily a form of performing art (recitation accompanied by *sasara*, a bamboo musical instrument, and/or puppets), it is impossible to date *sekkyōbushi* stories, but the *Shintokumaru* text printed in 1648 seems to provide neat answers to some puzzling inconsistencies in the Mikanagi-*bon* version of *Hachikazuki*. This *Hachikazuki* is the only version with rather confusing references to as many as three deities—the Kannons of Kiyomizu and Hase, and Tenjin, the god of scholarship. It appears as if the two Kannons are devised to dissociate the conflicting functions of Kiyomizu Kannon (who, in *Shintokumaru*, rescinds the karmic effect of the parents' offense against sentient beings, but also allows the greedy stepmother's curse to visit upon the hapless Shintokumaru in the form of leprosy) so as to dispense summarily with the punitive Kiyomizu Kannon and elaborate on the benevolent role assigned to Hase Kannon.[26] The irrelevant mention of Tenjin as the heroine's guardian can hardly be explained but for the presumed model Kiyohara's reknown as belonging to a distinguished lineage of scholars.[27] Even more significant, however, is the crucial emphasis placed on the concept of *haji*. This is the prevailing theme of *Shintokumaru*: the parental sin to be expiated by the son, and the shame that manifests itself visibly as leprosy to make him an outcast. *Hachikazuki*'s principal metaphor, the bowl (*hachi-haji*), serves as a more genteel device to materialize sin and shame while simulating Shintokumaru's suicide attempt through fasting—a bowl or cup turned upside down (as adhered to Hachikazuki's head) is a declinatory sign in Japanese table etiquette.

Such Japanese and Buddhist motifs may seem quite out of place in a story supposedly glorifying a Christian lady, but this is not so unlikely as it may appear at first sight. In 1865, when the *kakure kirishitan*, or secret Christians, were discovered at Nagasaki, there surfaced a short religious tract titled *Tenchi Hajimari no Koto* ('The Beginning of Heaven and Earth').[28] Among the extant copies, the oldest and best is dated the ninth month of 1828. Starting from the Creation, the booklet recounts the Fall, the Flood, the life of Christ, and the Last Judgment, but by far the most dominant theme is the story of Santa Maria threading through the entire narrative. By the annotator Takita Kōya's count, Maria is mentioned forty-five times by the names 'Mariya' or 'Biruzen' (Virgin); this is next only to God himself, who is called 'Deusu' forty-three times and 'On-aruji' twenty-three times. Maria is deified to the extent that she is even identified with the Holy Spirit.

Of greatest interest in relation to the Mikanagi-*bon* is the account of Maria's

[26] See Yoshiko Dykstra, 'Tales of the Compassionate Kannon: The *Hasedera Kannon Genki*', in *MN* XXXI (1976), pp. 113–43.

[27] Organtino (21 September 1577), in *Yasokaishi*, II, p. 394; *Cartas*, I, f. 398–8v. Organtino mentions Tenjin appearing in a dream to a current lord of Settsu (Araki Murashige?), who thereupon worshipped him.

[28] Takita Kōya 田北耕也, ed., *Kirishitansho: Haiyasho* キリシタン書: 排耶書, Nihon Shisō Taikei 25, Iwanami Shoten, 1970, pp. 382–409.

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life, for this departs markedly from the Bible version. A poor girl in Luson (the Philippines), she hears a heavenly voice saying, 'If you practice celibacy ['*biruzen no gyō*'] all your life, I promise you salvation.' But the king of Luson, in search of a suitable consort, orders her to be brought to him against her will and woos her in vain with an impressive assortment of exotic gifts, many of which correspond to the items mentioned in the Mikanagi-bon—Chinese brocade, red silk, a lapis lazuli (or glass) incense box, agate and amber articles, aloeswood, and musk. Following the Annunciation and the beginning of her pregnancy, she is expelled by her irate parent, roams through the wilderness alone, gives birth in a stable, and bathes her babe in a manger. After the Resurrection and her own deification, Maria appeals to God: 'Owing to my practice of celibacy, [the king of Luson] died from his longing for me. Since in my heart I have always considered him my husband, I beseech you to save him.' Thereupon God unites the two in matrimony.

Tenchi Hachimari no Koto has much in common with both the Mikanagi-bon and the life (or the legend thereof) of its possible model, Kiyohara Kojijū. Santa Maria and Kojijū—early renown in learning and religious devotion; pledge of chastity; rejection of kingly suitors (king of Luson and Hideyoshi); key role in the salvation of another, and later sanctioned marriage. Santa Maria and Hachikazuki—religious devotion; divine protection; forcible removal from home; expulsion for suspected sexual intimacy; solitary roaming; (religious) discourse through days and nights; and marriage of her heart acknowledged. Further study is necessary before it is possible even to conjecture whether the legend of Kiyohara Kojijū and the Mikanagi-bon were influenced directly by *Tenchi Hajimari no Koto*, or vice versa. In any case, *Tenchi Hajimari no Koto* at least establishes beyond doubt that the *kirishitan* community had been exposed to Italian legends and folklore, and incorporated them into tales which were indisputably Japanese in their authorship, context, terminology, and plot variations. In addition to the *kirishitan* vocabulary and medieval transliterations, *Tenchi Hajimari no Koto* uses such Japanese and Buddhist terms as *tengu* (devil), *shikishin* (body), *hottai-suru* ('transfigure'), and even *oshō* for Jesus (in one instance). Even if these can be dismissed as the typical *kakure kirishitan* interpolations occurring sometime between 1614 (deportation of the foreign missionaries) and 1828 (the date of the earliest copy), it is tenuous indeed to attribute the authorship of this text solely to the *kakure kirishitan* in the late Tokugawa period. Its peculiar deviations from the Bible often entail generous adaptation of Western legends and folk beliefs: the apple gets stuck in Adam's throat; Santa Maria is disowned by the family (the outcast heroine theme); a miracle tale concerning wheat-growers enhances the flight from Herod; and rather effectively grafted is the Italian legend of Veronica, who is said to have healed the ailing Tiberius with the Robe (here replaced by the towel with which she wipes Christ's bloody sweat).

Whether or not the presence of such Western religious lores suggests that *Tenchi Hajimari no Koto* was contemporaneous to Kiyohara Kojijū's lifetime when the European missionaries still exerted immediate influence, it is more than of casual

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interest to note that Kojijū was the only one of the possible models in the Cinderella cycle who, during the period of Jesuit publication activity, resided in western Kyushu, where *Tenchi Hajimari no Koto* is believed to have originated.

Otogibunko Hachikazuki *and* Ubakawa

MANY questions may be asked about the *Hachikazuki* type. Why was it the only Cinderella tale to proliferate into a number of versions? Why are there so many discrepancies and differences among them? And why did the version modeled on Tsutsui Sadatsugu enjoy the best survival record? It was obviously the curiosity value of magic adhesion that made this story of a bowl-bearing girl popular, and the nature of this cycle as *moderu shōsetsu* (that is, stories based on real-life models) accounts for variations.

But a primary factor in the dominance of the Tsutsui version is obviously its geographical association. *Nara-ehon* painters, as apparent from the term applied by modern scholars, are believed to have been for a large part Nara (Yamato) residents belonging to various temples and shrines, the most powerful of which included Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji. The Tsutsui had been the leaders of the Kōfukuji monk-soldiers and warrior parishioners. No *Nara-ehon* painter of the day would have failed to notice that in one particular Hachikazuki version, the husband owns Yamato and builds a palace in Iga, just as only one man in history had done, one of their own and in their own time at that. After the memory of Sadatsugu had faded, there was still the appeal of Hase Kannon of Yamato, one of the best-known deities in Japan. If the model of the heroine is Gracia's sister mistaken for the former daughter-in-law of Araki Murashige, her agonies may well be acute enough to make her contemplate suicide. The bowl that her mother places over her head protects her from discovery and certain death as an Araki or an Akechi. But it is also a sign of the moral sin she carries as the daughter of the man who tried to kill or actually killed her adoptive father; indeed, Nobunaga is reflected in the fictional father's unconscious hostility and lack of compassion in believing the heroine to be a monstrosity plotting to lay curses upon her stepmother.

Araki Murashige as the primary father-figure provides a most plausible explanation for the ambivalent treatment of this particular character. While Hanayo's father lives to enjoy a happy and prosperous life with the young couple after a period of anguish and the *Ubakawa* father simply disappears from the story, the father in *Hachikazuki* is found a pathetic, repentant, mendicant monk by his prosperous daughter, after he had deserted his second wife and daughter in unexplained poverty.

Now Araki had been vassal to the shogun Yoshiaki, but eventually followed Hosokawa Yūsai to side with Nobunaga against Yoshiaki and was rewarded with Settsu province. Alone, he was not so lucky or clever in his choice of allegiance. Suspected of conspiring against Nobunaga with Honganji and the powerful western Mōri family in 1578, Araki entrenched himself in Itami Castle in Settsu, was practically starved out to Amagasaki Castle in the following year, and ultimately

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fled to Mōri territory. Nobunaga's wrath was unleashed upon Araki's hapless family and attendants left at Itami: 122 attendants were crucified, more than 500 servants were locked up in four houses and burned to death, and Araki's wife and children together with high-ranking vassal families were beheaded in Kyoto. Araki himself escaped reprisal thanks to Nobunaga's untimely death a few years later, well deserving the fictional daughter's distrust of his loyalty as a parent. Thereafter Araki took the tonsure and traveled around the Kawachi area before he was reinstated into privileged circles as a cultural companion to Hideyoshi on the strength of his reputation as one of the Seven Disciples of Sen no Rikyū, and married a merchant's daughter.[29]

In the annual report of 1584, Frois states that Araki, who had been resentful of Christians ever since the loss of his estate owing to his own failure to accept Takayama Ukon's advice, incurred Hideyoshi's anger by attempting to malign Ukon and so became a monk again, deserting his second wife and children. The father in *Hachikazuki* is the only one in the Cinderella cycle who has a deliberate hand in his daughter's banishment and later forsakes his second family in poverty to become a mendicant monk. Since the father (Akechi-Araki), if anyone, is directly responsible for this heroine's suffering, the bowl as her sin and protection falls off unneeded when she marries Saishō and assumes another name.

Hachikazuki and *Ubakawa* share a certain problem. As Ikeda Yasaburō notes,[30] the plot progression slows down to a halt as soon as *Hachikazuki* reaches the love-story section: the style becomes inordinately ornate, ponderous, and full of allusions; Saishō launches into a long monologue on the concept of fate, heavy with religious references; and on the whole, the story is more concerned with the prince-heroine relationship than the heroine's flight or suffering. In contrast to *Hanayo no Hime*, which spares a mere 22.5% of space (9 out of 40 pages) to the love theme, and the Mikanagi-bon with 20% (3 out of 15 pages), #64 (nearly identical with the Otogibunko version, whose text in another edition is unsuitable for quantitative comparison here) devotes as much as 39% (7 out of 18 pages), which is exceeded only by *Ubakawa*'s 71% (5 out of 7 pages). By all indications, these last two tales are explicitly intent on glorifying the male principals; whereas *Hanayo no Hime*'s Saishō is delineated through the interaction between the two lovers, and the Mikanagi-bon has next to no characterization in regard to Chūjō, *Hachikazuki* is exceedingly meticulous in conveying Saishō's point of view. When it comes to *Ubakawa*, the pretended interest in the heroine is all but discarded: she is summarily dismissed as incomparably beautiful and radiant like a heavenly maiden beyond the power of words or pictures, with no nature metaphors or classical allusions; her husband, on the other hand, is well accomplished in martial skills and fine arts, possessed of great courage and aesthetic sensibility, engaged by his parents to a noble princess, but steadfastly loyal to the heroine.

If the primary focus of the tale is trained on the male model rather than the

[29] Frois (3 September 1584), in *Iezusukai Nihon Nenpō*, I, p. 325; *Cartas*, II, ff. 110–10v.

[30] Ikeda, p. 98.

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customary heroine, and if the author had to go to this length to emphasize the virtues of the male principal, sometimes even at the expense of the heroine, why did he not turn the story into a male Cinderella tale? And why the Cinderella format, of all things? The background of the models provides a necessary insight. Tsutsui Sadatsugu and Kyōgoku Takayoshi had one experience in common—each married the daughter of the lord in whose castle he was a semi-permanent guest, either as hostage or ex-master, under constant threat of execution or expulsion and in humiliation at being reduced to such a humbling status. Nonetheless, any writer would have known better than to portray such high-ranking warriors as a male Cinderella engaged in menial work. Moreover, the irony of history reversed their fortunes soon enough so that their fathers-in-law lost not only their possessions but also their lives, while the sons-in-law survived into prosperity, their wives along with them. It was their wives, after all, who had been saved from the unhappy fate of orphaned girls—hence, the wives as Cinderellas going through the experience of their husbands, not altogether entirely vicariously.

The dual models of the *Ubakawa* husband are unequivocally identified by name perhaps because the Kyōgoku were in no immediate danger of official anti-Christian persecution thanks to their powerful family connections,[31] but the father figure may need a little more elaboration. This father leaves the heroine not by his own choice but to attend to his duty (*ōban no tsutome*) in the capital. If Shiba Yoshishige is the model, it makes complete sense that as *kanrei*, or the supreme administrative official, his presence would have been needed at the shogun's spring banquet (*ōban*). Further, the position required his residence in Kyoto for the duration; hence the father's extended absence from Owari. With his governorship of Owari and Echizen, Yoshishige held the title of Saemon-no-suke; next, by virtue of Owari and Tōtōmi, he advanced to Sahyōe-no-kami; but only with Echizen went the title of Uhyōe-no-kami, which no Shiba man before or after him ever held.

So after all, *Ubakawa* does not forget a subtle but nonetheless exacting retribution for the father's unwitting desertion of the heroine, for the husband Takayoshi is granted by the emperor, rather than inheriting from his father-in-law, the title of Uhyōe-no-kami and the province of Echizen. Since Commander of the Right Palace Guards was a single-appointment post, this means that the fictional father has been deprived of one of his two remaining provinces (Tōtōmi was taken over by an Imagawa in 1407) and the title that came with it, although, in real life, Yoshishige retained both Owari and Echizen until 1418 and passed them on to his Shiba heirs. The endowment of the particular province and title has to be a deliberate punishment ordained by the author, for no Kyōgoku ever held any title connected with the Palace Guards or owned Echizen, which remained in Shiba hands until 1471,

[31] Takatomo's eldest brother, Takatsugu, was married to his Asai cousin, whose elder sister was the dowager mother of Toyotomi Hideyori, and whose younger sister was the wife of Tokugawa Hidetada, mother of Iemitsu, and eventually grandmother of Meishō Tennō (r. 1630–43).

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when it was taken over by Asakura (a former Shiba vassal and an ally of Asai).

Not surprisingly, the fictional reward parallels the manner of Kyōgoku Takatomo's acquisition of his additional holdings in Shinano; when Mōri Hideyori died heirless, his estate was officially granted to Takatomo, who was the sole surviving male relation by his marriage to Hideyori's daughter. *Ubakawa* specifically states that, impressed by his Kannon-ordained marriage, the emperor bestowed Echizen on the husband Takayoshi. In that case, why Echizen instead of Shinano, or even Owari, which is after all the heroine's home province and a more appropriate choice? Is it because Echizen is a northern neighbor of Ōmi, which the husband inherits from his own father? Granted, Echizen was Yoshishige's domain and later a Jesuit base, which Shinano was not on either count. But a more crucial consideration might have been that at the time of the composition of this variant, Echizen was divided up into small fiefs assigned to lesser lords, while Owari was already the greatest (620,000 *koku*) of the three *shimpan* (Tokugawa bloodline clans), not to be trifled with even in fiction. Perhaps the same prudence prevented the author from calling the father Owari-no-kami, although the father seems prominent enough to be known to the heroine's husband in Ōmi and she is called *hime* (lady). The veiled punishment of the father, therefore, may be another piece of internal evidence dating *Ubakawa* at least later than 1610, when the Owari clan was established.

Kirishitan Press and Jesuit Authors

WHEN a literary work turns to a historical figure for a model, the person chosen usually has a background significant enough to inspire fictionalization, whether its intent is defamatory or laudatory. The Japanese Cinderella tales, which are, after all, love stories with the age-old happy ending, cannot be other than venerative homage to the models. In addition, as their didactic closing precept ('Worship Kannon and practice mercy') requires, the models must have some distinct qualities or qualifications to serve as moral paragons. To choose certain individuals and transfigure them into Cinderella characters, the authors must have (1) knowledge of them, (2) sufficient motive or impulse to glorify them, (3) an ability and means to produce literary works, and (4) an access to the particular vehicle. In creating the three tales, who could have satisfied at least these four conditions in the late Muromachi period? In view of the fact that no origins or folklore sources of the Japanese Cinderella cycle have been successfully traced within Oriental traditions, the fourth condition alone may be enough to narrow the choice down to just one answer—Westerners equipped with the knowledge of both Oriental and Occidental cultures and an operative competence in Japanese language, that is, the Jesuits. There is no doubt that Organtino not only had a hand in the baptism of the principal models—Gracia, Tsutsui Sadatsugu, and Kyōgoku Takatomo—but he also witnessed the dramatic incidents involving them before he died in Nagasaki in 1609. Was it Organtino, then, who wrote the Japanese Cinderella stories? Or else, who did?

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The presumable dates of the three Cinderella stories may be set as follows. *Hanayo no Hime*—soon after Gracia's death and Tadaoki's acquisition of his Bungo fief in 1600, but no later than 1611, the year Cespedes died and Tadaoki's friendship toward Christians ended; *Hachikazuki*—after Sadatsugu's loss of estate in 1608, but before his forced suicide in 1615; and *Ubakawa*—after Kyōgoku Magdalena's funeral in 1606 or (if the name Naruse is not a later interpolation) in or after 1611.

Around 1600 was a rosy, hopeful phase for the Jesuits despite Hideyoshi's proscription edict technically in force, following a period of an unprecedented number of conversions among young daimyo, including Gracia's brother-in-law. Notwithstanding the death of some Christian daimyo on the losing Ishida side, the deceptive power equilibrium in the wake of Sekigahara must have left the Christians with optimistic visions of the future. By 1608, however, the tide was apparently turning: the arrival of the formidable rival, the Englishman Will Adams, in 1600; tacit official sanction of anti-Christian persecution in Kyushu from 1602; pressures exerted on Christian daimyo at every turn, driving some to apostasy and leading inexorably toward the attack on the Portuguese ship *Madre de Deus* in 1610; successive martyrdoms, demolition of the Kyoto church in 1612, and finally the 1614 Tokugawa proscription edict.[32]

Glorification of Christian daimyo may well have been the last-ditch efforts by the Jesuits to encourage, inspire, and extol those who remained faithful in the increasingly hostile atmosphere, before most of the missionaries and some staunch Japanese Christians were deported in 1614, including Justo Ukon, who died in Manila in the same year. As amply demonstrated by Gracia and Kyōgoku Maria, moreover, women proved themselves to be powerful assets to the Christian cause. Propagation of the faith and apotheosis of notable Christians by means of *otogizōshi* tales may have been expected to serve even more effectively than religious sermons in recruiting upper-class ladies or at least inspiring interest in Christianity. The discreet effort detectable in these tales to set their teachings in a Japanese and Buddhist context gives credence to the speculations as to the date and intent of the stories in the light of the process of Christian dissemination that tended to go underground from around this time.

If the motives of the Jesuits seem quite clear, there still remains the practical question of their means and ability to turn historical facts into literary works in Japanese. Organtino's competence in the language is attested by Frois as early as 1573. Even more notable is João Rodrigues, known as the Interpreter, who served Hideyoshi and Ieyasu as well as Valignano, and authored invaluable treatises, such as *Historia da Igreja do Japão*, and also a source crucial to the present discussion, *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, 1604–08.

Such works on Japan and the Japanese language, or Jesuit studies of native culture in general, were made possible by virtually one man, Valignano. It was this

[32] Pacheco, pp. 73–4.

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highly educated Visitor to the Jesuit missions in India and Japan who reversed Francisco Cabral's negative policies regarding the native culture and people, established indigenous clergy, encouraged Japanese studies of all phases, and produced much writing of his own on Japan. By far the most significant of his accomplishments relevant to the issue at hand is his introduction of a movable-metal-type press, the first in Japan, which produced valuable sources for posterity as well as for his contemporaries during the brief period of its activity from 1590 until 1614, when it was dismantled and shipped back to Macao.[33]

In addition to a number of extensive and reliable dictionaries and religious texts, the press turned out a surprising variety of books in Japanese. The most interesting in relation to the Japanese Cinderella cycle is *Sanctos no Gosagueo no Uchi Nuqigaqi*, 1591, a compendium of the lives of the saints and apostles, adapted from *Flos Sanctorum* and other sources, which epitomizes a distinct Christian tradition of rendering biographical material into didactic literature. Whatever vast distance might lie between saints and Japanese Cinderella models is aptly bridged by another of the Jesuit publications proving their interest in didactic juvenile literature, *Esopo no Fabulas*, Amakusa, 1593, seventy-four Aesop's fables in *rōmaji* translation, which was later republished during the Edo period as *Isoho Monogatari*. This is in fact Japan's very first *hon'yaku bungaku*, or translation literature, from Western sources. As if made to order for our present consideration, however, these fables were bound together with an abridged colloquial version of *Heike Monogatari* and a collection of aphorisms (*kinkushū*) gleaned from Japanese and Confucian works. The Jesuit interest in producing indigenous literature in pseudo-classical (that is, Muromachi) Japanese interspersed with poetry is further presaged by *Taiheiki* excerpts and *Royei. Zafit.* [=*Rōei Zahitsu*], 1600, consisting of Japanese verses and classical writings.

Even more significant evidence of the Jesuit ability and actual attempt to create *otogizōshi* tales is the descriptions and quotations found in Rodrigues' *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*. As examples of vernacular writings created, edited, and published by the Jesuit mission, Rodrigues mentions 'short stories in colloquial Japanese circulating in print under the genre name of *monogatari*; excerpts from Japanese classics rewritten into contemporary language by our Japanese Brothers, such as dances [*mai*] transcribed into our script and the vernacular *Heike Monogatari*.'[34] No complete text of the dances or *monogatari* is extant, but passages quoted by Rodrigues in his grammatical discussions more than establish the historical fact of such literary endeavors of the Christians, especially the short stories bearing the word *monogatari* in their title, that is, *otogizōshi*-type of tales.

During their journeys to and from various mission centers, the Jesuits must have witnessed roadside performances of jongleurs commanding rapt attention of audi-

[33] C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650*, University of California Press, 1951, p. 191.

[34] Quoted in Doi Tadao 土井忠生, *Kirishitan Gogaku no Kenkyū* 吉利支丹語学の研究, Seibunsha, 1943, p. 301; original text in Ioam Rodriguez, *Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa*, Macao, 1620, ff. 4–4v.

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ences with their recitation of *otogizōshi* stories. The most valuable assistant to Frois and Organtino was the half-blind Brother Lourenço (1526?–92), who had in fact been a *biwa hōshi*, or lute minstrel, before he gave up his occupation to follow Xavier in 1551—an invaluable qualification and professional training that could not have gone unnoticed by the Jesuits. It would have been only a matter of time before the Christians thought of utilizing the popular literary and entertainment genre for the purpose of religious edification and instruction. Indeed, they had a model to imitate—the Kumano *bikuni* (nuns of Kumano Shrine), who performed *etoki* (picture explaining, or audio-visual recitation of religious scrolls and *otogizōshi* stories) for the secluded ladies of upper-class households as well as roadside audiences. As established by Barbara Ruch, the *etoki bikuni* (including those who were nuns in name only) contributed their own creations to the rapidly expanding repertoire of *otogizōshi* genre—Kumano *bikuni* 'played an important role in the insertion of love themes into episodes' about famous heroes. Being associated with the three Kumano deities, who were believed to protect stepchildren and punish false tongues, the *etoki* nuns functioned also as religious proselytizers, and 'numerous Muromachi-period texts conclude with passages that indicate the stories had been written down and then distributed . . . as part of missionary work.'[35] It is hardly surprising if Christians undertook to circulate *otogizōshi* tales of their own for the same purpose. And the Japanese Jesuits, for that matter, lacked no talent in creative writing.

Among the associates who participated in the Jesuit publications in Japanese, four men stand out prominently. The transcriber of *Heike Monogatari* was Fucan Fabian (1565–1621?), a Japanese lay-brother who apostatized soon after he impressed the mourners with his sermon at Kyōgoku Magdalena's funeral service in 1606 and then authored a formidable anti-Christian tract, *Ha-Deusu* ('Down with Deus'). The collection of aphorisms and Aesop's fables are loosely attributed to Cosme Takai (1552–?), perhaps the Brother who met Gracia in person when she visited the Jesuit church. The most renowned for his graceful literary style was a former physician called Yōhōken Paulo (c. 1501–95). Two of Vilela's first converts, Paulo and his son Tōin Vicente (1540–1609), had been among the ten Japanese admitted into the Jesuit order in 1580 by Valignano's newly implemented liberal policy. Anesaki Masaharu considers the stylistic quality of the Christian literature of this period fully equal, if not superior, to the best Buddhist writings of the preceding age as well as its own contemporary secular literature. He further differentiates between the elegant style of four units in *Sanctos no Gosagueo no Uchi Nuqigaqi* attributed to Paulo and the relatively less graceful style of the rest done by his son Vicente.[36]

[35] Barbara Ruch, 'Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature', in John W. Hall & Toyoda Takeshi, ed., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, University of California Press, 1977, pp. 301–2.

[36] Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治, '*Kirishitan Shūkyō Bungaku*' 吉利支丹宗教文学, in Yamada Norio 山田野理夫, ed., *Kirishitan Kenkyū*, Saginomiya Shobō, 1968, p. 16.

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Examination of João Rodrigues' *Arte* confirms the speculation that the Japanese Brothers wrote stories in the Japanese vernacular and that eminent Christian daimyo were models for at least two of them. Two quotations from *Bungo Monogatari* by Paulo identify Ōtomo Sōrin by name and by a famous episode: 'What joy has Zen Buddhism ever brought to Sōrin *Sama*?'—perhaps a question posed to Sōrin when he insisted on postponing his baptism until after he had obtained a satisfactory understanding of Zen, as reported by Frois. Also, 'It is an act of piracy or banditry to plunder the ship's cargo,'[37] which corresponds to Frois' account of the young Sōrin successfully arguing against the Chinese pilot who advised Sōrin's father to kill the Portuguese merchants and take their cargo. *Sakon Monogatari*, whose author is unidentified, seems to deal with the life of Takayama Ukon. 'Well, Brother, you say Sakon *Dono* never indulges himself. Is it by nature?' might lead to a possible answer crediting Christian teachings for his virtue. A more relevant question is, 'Then, when do you say Hishū *Sama* will be here?', which suggests Takayama Ukon anxiously waiting for his friend Konishi Augustino Yukinaga, lord of Higo (Hishū), who spirited the banished Ukon away to safety in 1587.

The best-identified and most prolific author of saints' lives is Vicente, who was, if anyone, in the best position to write *Hanayo no Hime* at the least. His name is noted as translator in thirty-three biographical accounts in *Sanctos no Gosagueo no Uchi Nuqigaqi*, of which all the female subjects are, significantly enough, martyrs. In addition, he is believed to have written the life of St Sebastian, a work which was presented to Tahara Simon Chikatora (adopted nephew of Jezebel, Ōtomo Sōrin's wife) in 1577, the year of his conversion following his cousin and Sōrin's younger son, Chikaie, who had been baptized as Sebastian a year earlier. Vicente is also believed to have been the author of 'Life of Aloysius', which was given to Sōrin's heir, Ōtomo Constantino Yoshimune, in 1578.

One female saint's life is distinctly attributed to Vicente: *Bateren-ki*, the oldest anti-Christian book, dating from the early 1600s, cites as his work *Ruchia Hime no Hanashi*, unmistakably the legend of Saint Lucy.[38] After serving in Kyushu in his early years, Vicente was active primarily in the Kyoto-Osaka region, assigned to the seminary which kept relocating from Azuchi, Takatsuki (under Ukon), Osaka, to Kyoto, until the Jesuit catalog of 1609 carried his obituary. Most significantly, he is the one Jesuit who must have had direct contact with all the Cinderella models, including Gracia, which is even more than Organtino could claim, for on the occasion of Gracia's only visit to church, she is believed to have had a religious talk with Vicente. Vicente has even been credited with teaching the Latin alphabet to Gracia, even if indirectly through her attendant Maria.[39] Vicente delivered a eulogy at Gracia's first memorial service in the new Hosokawa fief of

[37] João Rodriguez, *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, Nagasaki, 1604–8, ff. 89v & 132.

[38] '*Baterenki*' 伴天連記, in Shinmura Izuru 新村出, ed., *Kaihyō Sōsho* 海表叢書, I, Kōseikaku Shoten, Kyoto, 1927.

[39] Arai Toshi 新井トシ, '*Kirishita-ban no Shuppan to sono Shūhen*, 7' きりしたん版の出版とその周辺, in *Biblia*, Tenri, #39 (July 1968), p. 49.

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Buzen, when her Christian daughters requested an annual commemoration in the future.

While Rodrigues' quotations from Paulo's writings show such peculiar and crude-sounding Muromachi auxiliary verb forms as *dekimarashita* (polite or humble, equivalent to modern *dekimashita*), *mōsanaide gozaru* (*mōshimasen*), and *agenandaru* (*agenakkatta*), Vicente's style is much more akin to the classical, literary, and feminine style of *Hanayo no Hime*, with the graceful Heian diction such as *tamau*, *saburau*, and *mairasu*. There is, of course, no guarantee that the texts of the three Cinderella tales as they now stand represent the untouched, original writing of their author(s). But if we assume that the texts retain, even with some modifications, much of their original stylistic qualities, Vicente seems the best candidate for the possible author of *Hanayo no Hime* with its elegant, unassuming, and spontaneous style, by far the best of the three stories as regards literary quality. The heavy, pedantic, and Chinese-studded style of *Hachikazuki* is suggestive of Fucan Fabian, a former Zen monk whose well-documented knowledge of Buddhism and expertise in *kambun*-oriented style are preserved in his treatises, including *Myōtei Mondō*, 1606, in which he defends Christian doctrine against Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Fabian also seems to have had some connection with the Settsu-Kawachi area, the setting of *Hachikazuki*, for he went into hiding there after his apostasy. As for *Ubakawa*, the flavorless, hurried, inferior style offers no clue, and its author could have been any Christian writer with access to the folklore motifs incorporated into the preceding two tales.

If the Japanese Jesuits, Vicente in particular, had personal knowledge of the models, more than sufficient motive to glorify them, and both ability and means to produce literary works, there still remains the question of their access to the specific vehicle, the Cinderella motif-complex, which is clearly of non-Japanese origin. Despite his extensive experience as a Christian biographer, his compelling need to study the life of Gracia for the purpose of preparing a eulogy if nothing else, and his distinction of being a foremost stylist and scholar, Vicente nonetheless had no working competence in foreign languages.[40] This revelation leads us to conclude that the Japanese Cinderella cycle was a product of close collaboration involving well-informed Westerners and learned Japanese. Who were the missionaries who could satisfy all three requirements as well as Vicente and also provide for the fourth besides?

Alessandro Valignano, that advocate of active assimilation of the indigenous culture and missionary adaptation, happened to be in Japan when Gracia died. He was perhaps the most highly educated of all the Westerners stationed in the country at the time; interestingly enough, he had received a secular education at the University of Padua and had earned a doctorate in law before entering religion. A much more sustained presence was that of Organtino, superior of the Gokinai

[40] 'Brother Vicente: knows only Japanese, but is better in Japanese literature than all the other Brothers.' Josef Franz Schütte, ed., *Textus Catalogorum Japoniae* (*Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, I), Rome, 1975, p. 294.

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mission, aided by a succession of priests beginning with Giovanni Stephanonio, who replaced Frois in 1576. For some time the Nambanji, as the Jesuit church in Kyoto was called, was staffed by these two Italian Jesuits, soon to be visited by yet another Italian, Valignano. (Vicente was assigned to Gokinai from 1581 to 1587, and then from 1592 to probably the time of his death.) The Italian background to the Gokinai mission during Organtino's long tenure is of considerable significance when we examine the Cinderella prototype in relation to its geographical distribution and motif configuration.

The Italian Cinderella Cycle

SINCE an in-depth comparison of the Italian and the Japanese Cinderella cycles will be provided later in a separate article, it must suffice for the present to summarize a few pertinent idiosyncrasies of the Italian cycle which will help to confirm the strong possibility of the Jesuit authorship of the three Japanese tales.

In Marian Roalfe Cox's *Cinderella* (1892), a collection of 341 variants from all over the world, the Italian cycle (including ten Spanish and five Portuguese variants, all but indistinguishable from the Italian) alone constitutes the single largest block—83 variants in all, or 24.3% of the entire collection. Not only is the Cinderella type a dominant and popular tradition within the Italian culture, but the Italian cycle also radically differs from the generally known Cinderella, with its motifs of ill-treated heroine and recognition by means of a shoe—in essence, a rags-to-riches success story. The Italian type concerns a noble young lady banished through the 'King Lear judgment' or sent into flight by her widowed kingly father who wishes to marry his own daughter (an 'unnatural father', in Cox's Victorian euphemism). Instead of hearth abode and persecution at home, the Italian heroine journeys in disguise and is engaged in menial service at a palace until she is discovered by the prince. As confirmed by Ann Birgitta Rooth,[41] moreover, the Italian tradition shows an overwhelming preference for Aid, specifically in the form of an old woman or supernatural being (in place of the dead mother, tree, or animal), and Disguise, in wooden covering or old-woman skin (rather than animal skin), all of which features are unique to the Italian cycle.

The Japanese cycle exhibits a remarkable resemblance to the Italian model. All of the Japanese heroines are called *hime* (princess or lady), take a lone journey, work as a menial servant, and marry the young lord of the house. The most indisputable affinity is the peculiar Italian motifs: the old-woman skin in Italian variants is the human skin of a corpse or the dead mother's skin that disguises the heroine as an old woman; and the wooden covering may be a box hiding the heroine and treasures, wooden dress, or even a wooden figure of the old woman. Hanayo's robe is apparently a modified old-woman skin: the *yamauba* (old woman of the mountain) says, 'I let you have the robe (*kinu*) I have just taken off in the summer heat. Please put on this *ubaginu*.' In the text with virtually no *dakuten*, this word,

[41] Ann Birgitta Rooth, *The Cinderella Cycle*, Lund Humphries, London, 1951.

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generally accepted as *ubaginu* (old-woman robe), appears as *uwakinu*, literally, outer garment or cloak. Similarly the title of the tale *Ubakawa* (literally, 'Old-Woman Skin') is written *uwakawa* ('outer layer of skin'), which is far more precise and descriptive of the robe made of tree bark (the outer skin of wood) in absence of any reference to an old woman. If the *Ubakawa* robe is a combination of the old-woman skin and wooden-covering motifs, Hachikazuki's bowl is a veritable hiding box concealing her beauty and yielding treasures in the end.

In fact, Hachikazuki has her own Italian counterparts: 'Fair Maria Wood' (Cox 157) throws herself into a river in a wooden dress and floats, is rescued, and works as a servant; and 'Dame Cork' (Cox 183) gets thrown into the sea in her cork dress and is taken as a curiosity to a palace. *Hanayo no Hime* has even closer parallels. 'Marion de Bosch' (Cox 247): Madonna aid in the form of an old woman; the heroine cleans the old woman's hair; the heroine is rewarded, dresses in wood, and works as a servant. 'The Cruel Stepmother' (Cox 286): in the king's absence, the queen sends the heroine to a forest with assassins, who spare her life; feigned mourning; old-woman aid; informed that the heroine has been seen, the queen offers a reward to anybody killing her. 'The Three Daughters of the King' (Cox 313): the king orders a servant to kill the heroine in a wood; spared death, she is left in the wood; terrified of wild beasts, she sees a light in the distance and finds the house of an ogre; warning that her husband will eat her, the ogress hides her; the returned husband exclaims, 'What a smell!'; the ogress persuades him that it is nothing; the father is invited to the heroine's wedding (to the emperor). All of these incidents occur in the Japanese tales, while most of them are not found in variants of any other country in the world.

The Italian type would have served as an ideal vehicle for the Jesuits as it was far more suitable than the rags-to-riches type of Cinderella. The Italian heroine is not only high-born but also endowed with beauty and moral fortitude, a character ideal for glorifying the models of similar standing. Its lack of sibling rivalry was convenient in transplanting it into Japanese high society, where each child was insulated from her siblings by a host of attendants led by her nurse. The minor or no role assigned to the stepmother in heroine persecution (in fact, the central motif is menial work in reduced circumstances rather than persecution in the Italian cycle) further accommodates the Japanese family situation with no manifest history of such persecution.

The earliest Japanese novel dealing with the stepdaughter motif is considered to be *Ochikubo Monogatari* ('Lady in the Hollow', late tenth century), but its persecuted party is actually not the stepdaughter, who is merely removed to a cellar-like room and rescued by a gallant Shōshō early in the story, but the stepmother, who is humiliated and tormented mercilessly by the avenging Shōshō through the rest of the novel. Similarly, *Sumiyoshi Monogatari* ('The Tale of Sumiyoshi', dubiously traced back to the thirteenth century but extant only in the printed texts dating from 1632), which is the major precedent of *otogizōshi* stepdaughter stories in the literary and aristocratic category, concerns a noble stepdaughter heroine's

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seclusion at Sumiyoshi. The stepmother's mistreatment consists of attempts to block the heroine's happy marriage in favor of her own daughter, with no solitary roaming, no persecution, no menial service, no involvement of the father, and no divine intervention (other than a dream). Even the persecuted stepson, a prevalent motif in Japanese literature from Prince Genji on, usually is a victim of the Phaedra-Hippolytus tragedy, subjected to the fury of a lady disdained (his stepmother, whose sexual advances he rejects) or hounded by the guilt of his own incestuous love.

As Ikeda points out,[42] the tale of stepchildren persecution (*mamakomono*) made its sudden appearance and rapidly proliferated in the late medieval period, unaccountably tapering off thereafter as attested by the scarcity of variants and the absence of literary offshoot of the three Cinderella tales, which Ichiko believes to be a late medieval product quite outside of the *Sumiyoshi Monogatari* tradition.[43] That the *otogizōshi* Cinderella stories were from the beginning *moderu shōsetsu* written for specific purposes, patterned after the Western prototype and inlaid with Italian motifs, would certainly serve as one plausible explanation for this curious literary phenomenon.

Conclusion

THE Japanese Cinderella cycle has all the earmarks of being Jesuit literature authored by the Japanese Christians in collaboration with the Italian missionaries for the purpose of glorifying Christian daimyo and ladies, edifying the faithful, and propagating the gospel of love and endurance in the face of persecution in the early seventeenth century.

It seems more than likely that Hosokawa Gracia provided the initial inspiration for adaptation of the Cinderella type to her tragic romantic life and her religious fervor. *Hanayo no Hime* is evidently the first in the cycle: its presumable model Gracia is by far the most natural choice for a Cinderella role in comparison to the male models of the other two tales; *Hanayo no Hime* contains a well-integrated sequence of folklore and fairy-tale motifs in the greatest number derived from the Italian cycle; it is closest to the classical novel in its graceful fluid style, characteristically Japanese in its vocabulary and imagery, and most extensive in volume and scope.

The Mikanagi-bon *Hachikazuki* seems to be the next oldest, memorializing Gracia's companion Kiyohara Maria Kojijū and her Christian courtier father: it has a similar style, if somewhat inferior, to *Hanayo no Hime*, a greater variety of motifs than have the other *Hachikazuki* variants, and references to exotic imports, which would have been suppressed if written later when the official attitude toward foreign trade hardened. The metal bowl and wooden box introduced by this tale evolved into a wooden bowl with multiple compartments to yield a series of bowl-

[42] Ikeda, p. 48.
[43] Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次, *Chūsei Shōsetsu no Kenkyū* 中世小説の研究, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1968, pp. 98–9.

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bearing girl variants, of which the most popular is *Hachikazuki*, featuring Tsutsui Sadatsugu, whose circumstances of marriage, unfailing faith, and resultant loss of estate more than qualify him as a model. His close association with Yamato province and Buddhism, rather than Bungo or Kyoto with their direct access to foreign culture influence, may be responsible for the rich Buddhist allusions and somewhat pedantic philosophical contemplation in this version.

Ubakawa has the appearance of being all but a synopsis with its perfunctory style, artlessly bare plot, meager sprinkling of folklore motifs gleaned from the preceding versions, and want of original ideas or expressions. Whether or not its artistic imperfection is imputable to the rather lackluster models Kyōgoku Takayoshi and Takamoto or the increasingly alarming chain of events leading to the final expulsion of European missionaries in 1614 that left this tale in an incomplete state, there is no evidence of any other variant of *Ubakawa* ever written, just as *Hanayo no Hime* exists basically in a single version.

In a sense, the very absence of related stories preceding or following this Cinderella cycle tends to support the hypothesis of Western sources and Japanese Jesuit authorship, which necessarily limit the range of possible dates of these tales within a brief but vital period between 1600 (Gracia's death) and 1614 (deportation of the missionaries). Furthermore, Valignano's final departure in 1603 and Organtino's death in 1609 may account for the drastic decrease in folklore motifs and originality in a descending order from *Hanayo no Hime* (c. 1600), the Mikanagi-bon (c. 1601), *Hachikazuki* (c. 1608), down to *Ubakawa* (c. 1612).

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